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ACHILLES TATIUS

LEUCIPPE AND CLITOPHON

BOOKS I–II

EDITED BY TIM WHITMARSH

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University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107190368
DOI: 10.1017/9781108105378

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First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
NAMES: Achilles Tatius, author. | Whitmarsh, Tim, editor.
TITLE: Achilles Tatius: Leucippe and Clitophon books I-II / Tim Whitmarsh.
OTHER TITLES: Leucippe and Clitophon | Cambridge Greek and Latin classics.
DESCRIPTION: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2020. |
SERIES: Cambridge Greek and Latin classics | Includes bibliographical references and index.
IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2019059873 | ISBN 9781107190368 (hardback) |
ISBN 9781108105378 (epub)
SUBJECTS: LCSH: Achilles Tatius. Leucippe and Clitophon.
CLASSIFICATION: LCC PA3819 .A2 2020 | DDC 883/.01–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019059873

ISBN 978-1-107-19036-8 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-316-64059-3 Paperback

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ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ ΤΑΤΙΟΥ ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΙΤΟΦΩΝΤΑ Α'–Β' 81

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This commentary is the culmination of 20 years of reading and thinking about Achilles Tatius' wonderful *Leucippe and Clitophon*. I am grateful to all those who have shared and debated ideas along the way, including (but not limited to) Helen Morales, Ian Repath, John Morgan, Karen ní Mheallaigh, Froma Zeitlin, Simon Goldhill, Ewen Bowie, Consuelo Ruiz Montero, Aldo Tagliabue, Koen de Temmerman, Claire Jackson, Lawrence Kim, Richard Hunter and Daniel Jolowicz. I am particularly grateful to have seen a draft of Jolowicz 2020 shortly before submitting my final copy. I have learned from innumerable others in the international community of scholars who work on the ancient novel, and in particular several generations of brilliant graduate students on the ancient romance and related areas, among them Anna Lefteratou, Athina Siapera, Estelle Strazdins, Elodie Turquois, Emma Greensmith, Ben Kruchió and Anna Athanasopoulou. I am also lucky to have been able to teach Achilles in Cambridge, not only in lectures and supervisions but also in the Intensive Greek classes. I am grateful to every undergraduate who has questioned, prodded and probed over the years. I have happy memories of beginning the work on this commentary in the congenial surroundings of the University of Chicago in 2015: many thanks to colleagues and friends in the Department of Classics for inviting and hosting me. My most immediate debt is to Neil Hopkinson and Richard Hunter, whose patience, acuity and guidance (and attention to linguistic superfluities) have transformed this book beyond measure; and to Michael Sharp at the Press for his encouragement. Finally, I am very lucky to live in a household that brims with conversations and ideas. *Leucippe and Clitophon* is a book about clever young people who have different ideas about the world from their parents. My daughter India (who read Achilles as a teenager) and my son Sol have changed the way I view this text, bringing it alive for me in ways that I could not have predicted – which is why, incidentally, I occasionally do use the term 'teenager' in the text (an anachronism, but Achilles does often read to me as a strangely modern text). My greatest debt, however, is inevitably to Emily Kneebone.

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

The Greek romances and their authors are abbreviated in the commentary as follows:

Xen. Eph., *A&H*	Xenophon of Ephesus, *The Ephesian Story of Anthia and Habrocomes*
Char., *Call.*	Chariton, *Callirhoe*
A., *L&C*	Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*
Long., *D&C*	Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*
Hld., *Ch&Th*	Heliodorus, *The Ethiopian Story of Charicleia and Theagenes*

References to *L&C* are by book, chapter and section number only. Σ indicates 'scholium' or 'scholia'.

Classical journals and Greco-Roman authors are abbreviated according to the conventions of *OCD*[5] (http://classics.oxfordre.com/page/abbreviation-list/). Editions of ancient texts are listed below only when referred to in the commentary by abbreviation.

ANET	J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Bible*, Princeton 1969
BDAG	F. Montanari, *Brill's dictionary of Ancient Greek*, Leiden 2015
BNJ	I. Worthington, *Brill's New Jacoby*, Leiden 2005–
BNP	H. Cancik and H. Schneider eds., *Brill's New Pauly*. English translation edited by C. F. Salazar and F. G. Gentry, Leiden 2010
CA	J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford 1925
Chantraine	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1863–
Denniston	J. D. Denniston, *The Greek particles*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1954
FHG	K. Müller *et al.*, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Paris, 1841–85
GDRK	E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bd. 1., 2nd edn, Göttingen 1963
GLRBP	E. A. Sophocles, *Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, Boston 1870
GMT	W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the moods and tenses of the Greek verb*, enlarged edn, London 1889

H–H	A. Hausrath and H. Hunger, *Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum*, Leipzig 1957–9
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873–
ISic.	*Inscriptiones Siciliae*, Oxford (sicily.classics.ox.ac.uk)
LGPN	P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews *et al.*, *A lexicon of Greek personal names*, Oxford 1987–
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zurich and Munich, 1981–99; Suppl. 2009
L–M	A. Laks and G. Most, *Early Greek philosophy*, Cambridge MA 2016
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, R. McKenzie, P. G. W. Glare and A. A. Thompson, *A Greek–English lexicon*, 9th edn, Oxford 1996
M–W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford 1967
O'Sullivan	J. O'Sullivan, *A lexicon to Achilles Tatius*, Berlin 1980
OCD[5]	*The Oxford classical dictionary*, 5th edn, New York
P.Berol.	*Berliner Klassikertexte*, Berlin 1904–
P.Colon.	B. Kramer and R. Hübner, *Kölner Papyri*, Cologne 1976–
P.Duk.	Duke papyrus (https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/homepage.html)
P.Mil.Vogl.	A. Vogliano, *Papiri della R. Università di Milano*, Milan 1937–
P.Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus papyri*, London 1898–
P.Sakaon	G. M. Parássoglou, *The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon: Papers of an Egyptian farmer in the last century of Theadelphia*, Bonn 1978
P.Sapph.Obbink	D. Obbink, 'The newest Sappho: text, apparatus criticus, and translation', in A. Bierl and A. Lardinois eds., *The newest Sappho (P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, frs. 1–4)* (Leiden 2016) 13–33
P.Schubart	W. Schubart, *Griechische literarische Papyri*, Berlin 1950
P.Thmouis	S. Kambitsis, *Le Papyrus Thmouis 1, colonnes 68–160*, Paris 1985
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae comici Graeci*, Berlin 1983–
PEG	A. Bernabé, *Poetae epici Graeci: testimonia et fragmenta*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1996–2007
PG	J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: series graeca*, Paris, 1854–85

*PGM*²	K. Preisendanz *et al.*, *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2nd edn, revised by A. Henrichs, Munich 2001
PGrR	A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum reliquiae*, Milan 1965
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962
PSI	*Papiri greci e latini, pubblicazioni della società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto*, Florence 1912–
RCA	S. Byrne, *Roman citizens of Athens*, Leuven 2003
RG Spengel	L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, Leipzig 1853–6
RG Walz	Chr. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci ex codicibus Florentinis, Mediolanensibus* (etc.), Stuttgart and Tübingen 1833–5
Rijksbaron	A. Rijksbaron, *The syntax and semantics of the verb in Classical Greek*, 3rd edn, Chicago 2006
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923–
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin and New York 1983
Smyth	H. W. Smyth, *Greek grammar*, Boston 1956
SVF	H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, Leipzig 1905–24
S–W	S. A. Stephens and J. J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek novels: the fragments*, Princeton 1995
TGrF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, Göttingen 1971–2004
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, Leipzig 1900–
Vilborg	E. Vilborg, *Achilles Tatius, Leucippe and Clitophon*, Stockholm 1955; *Achilles Tatius, Leucippe and Clitophon: a commentary*, Göteborg 1962
W²	M. L. West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1989
Wehrli	F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentar*, 2nd edn, 1967–9

The following abbreviations are used for grammatical terms:

acc.	accusative	mid.	middle
act.	active	neut.	neuter
adj.	adjective	nom.	nominative
advb.	adverb	opt.	optative
aor.	aorist	part.	participle
dat.	dative	pass.	passive
fem.	feminine	perf.	perfect

fut.	future
gen.	genitive
imper.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
indic.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
masc.	masculine
pluperf.	pluperfect
plur.	plural
pres.	present
sing.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
voc.	vocative

INTRODUCTION

1 AUTHOR, DATE, CONTEXT

Achilles Tatius' *The Matters Concerning Leucippe and Clitophon* (τὰ κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα) – hereafter *L&C* – was arguably the single most significant literary text written in Greek in the second century CE (Section 2(a)). We know little, however, about its author. A notice in the *Suda*, the tenth-century Byzantine encyclopaedia, reads as follows:

> Ἀχιλλεὺς Στάτιος Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ὁ γράψας τὰ κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα καὶ ἄλλα ἐρωτικὰ ἐν βιβλίοις η'. γέγονεν ἔσχατον Χριστιανὸς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος. ἔγραψε δὲ Περὶ σφαίρας καὶ ἐτυμολογίας, καὶ Ἱστορίαν σύμμικτον, πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ θαυμασίων ἀνδρῶν μνημονεύουσαν. ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιος τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς.
>
> Achilles Statius (*sic*) of Alexandria, the author of the novel concerning Leucippe and Clitophon (and other erotic matters) in 8 books.[1] He converted late in life to Christianity, and became a bishop. He also wrote *On the Sphere* and *On Etymology*, and a *Miscellaneous History*, which records many great and wondrous men. His style is everywhere similar to the erotic romance.[2] (*Suda* α. 4695 = T v Vilborg.)

How much of this can we trust? That Achilles was from Alexandria, asserted without controversy by the MS tradition and two other Byzantine sources,[3] is credible. *L&C* incorporates an encomium of the city, placed at the significant position of the opening of the romance's second half (5.1), and other laudatory references to Alexandria, to Egyptian cows and to the Nile suggest a particular affection (2.15.3–4n., 2.31.6n., 4.12); he also seems to have a certain amount of local knowledge.[4] If Achilles was based in Egypt, that might explain why readers in Oxyrhynchus had copies of *L&C* so

[1] The position of καὶ ἄλλα ἐρωτικά in the sentence indicates that the phrase refers to other erotic stories within *L&C* (i.e. not other erotic texts).

[2] Vilborg 1962: 17 n. 10, by contrast, takes the last sentence to mean 'His style is everywhere similar to that of the (other) romance writers.'

[3] Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 87 (T II Vilborg); Eustathius *ad* Hom. *Od.* 14.350 (T VII Vilborg).

[4] In particular, A. knows of the so-called *boukoloi* (Henrichs 1972: 48–50), and the recondite fact that their base was in Nicochis (4.12.8; cf. *P.Thmouis* 1.104.16, with Bremmer 1998: 167). Claims (e.g. Vilborg 1962: 8) that his descriptions of the hippopotamus (4.2) and crocodile (4.19) are based on eye-witness experience seem to me less secure.

soon after its composition (see Section 7). Residence in Alexandria does not necessarily entail Egyptian ethnicity in the narrow sense: Alexandria was home to many different communities, who each maintained (and sometimes had imposed upon them) a keen sense of their distinctness. Indeed, the description of an encounter with bandits during a journey up the Nile – a passage that implicitly connects their darker skin with the terror they inspired (3.9.2)[5] – reflects the ingrained prejudices of a metropolitan urbanite with scant connection to or sympathy for inland Egyptians. Achilles' world is centred on the Hellenised coastal cities of the eastern and south-eastern Mediterranean (see further Section 6(c)).

The name Achilles is common enough, and is found (*inter alia*) in Egypt. The 'surname' is more problematic.[6] The *Suda*'s Στάτιος (found also in a few MSS) is possible: it is a common Roman name, and was borne by a reasonable number of Greek-speakers. Byzantine sources[7] and the majority of MSS, however, give our author the name Τάτιος. Given that in Achilles' time Greek was written without space between words, with a single (lunate) form of the letter sigma and without a discrete lower case, corruption of the authorial attribution either way could have occurred easily: the eye does not readily distinguish between ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩϹΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩϹΤΑΤΙΟΥ and ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩϹΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩϹϹΤΑΤΙΟΥ. The argument from the *lectio difficilior* – that is, the principle that obscure words are more likely to be corrupted into familiar ones than the reverse – tilts the balance in favour of 'Tatius'.

In the light of Achilles' probable Alexandrian origin, Tatius has been interpreted as an Egyptian theophoric name derived from the god Djehuty, known to the Greeks as Thoth or (in the hermetic tradition) Tat.[8] This is not impossible, but there is no parallel, and (as noted above) Alexandrian origin does not necessarily imply Egyptian ethnicity. By contrast, Tat- names are found very commonly in Asia Minor; on this basis, one scholar has argued that Achilles must have been (like his predecessors) of Anatolian origin.[9] Among all the many Anatolian Tat- names attested, however, Tatius itself is rare. It seems preferable to take the name as the regular Roman *nomen*. The double form of his name, moreover, might be taken to

[5] Not that A. or any of his characters is ethnically 'white' in the modern sense: 1.4.3n.

[6] For recent discussion see Schmid-Dümmler 2018: 148–56, 396–409.

[7] Phot. *Bibl.* 87, 94 (T II, III Vilborg); Gregorius Corinthius, *Commentarium in Hermogenis Librum* Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος vol. VII.2 p. 1236 RG Walz (= T VIII Vilborg).

[8] Rohde 1914 (1876): 501 n. 1.

[9] Bremmer 1998: 167–8. Against this may be set his apparent ignorance of the topography and cult of Ephesus (Plepelits 1980: 4–6).

suggest Roman citizenship.[10] Tatius is indeed found in combination with Greek names: examples include L. Tatius Potamo (on Lesbos)[11] and Tatius Andronicus (in Egypt).[12] Greek Statii are more numerous, e.g. Q. Statius Sarapion and Q. Statius Themistocles at Athens.[13] But there is a problem here: the convention in such cases (as in the examples quoted above) is for the Roman name (with or without a declared *praenomen*) to precede the Greek, which thereby becomes an individuating *cognomen*. This custom was complicated by the progressive 'nomenclative anarchy' during the imperial period,[14] but going on extant parallels it seems likelier that our author, if Roman, would have been called (S)Tatius Achilles rather than the reverse. One other possibility is worth reviving.[15] At the head of ancient texts, the author's name conventionally appeared alongside the title in the genitive case (marking authorship). The genitive is also used in names to indicate patronymics. Perhaps the author's real name was simply 'Achilles son of Tatius'.[16] Nothing, however, is certain, and the name remains a puzzle.

The *Suda*'s story of his Christian conversion has convinced few modern scholars:[17] it is suspiciously close to a tale told of another romancer, Heliodorus, who was held to have renounced his novel, converted, and taken up the bishopric of Tricca.[18] Christians were enthusiastic, if conflicted, readers of the romances, and of *L&C* in particular (Section 2(b)); it is no surprise to find their authors retrospectively claimed as Christians. One passage in *L&C* appears to show familiarity with the Christian Gospels and the Eucharist ritual (2.2.5n.), but there is nothing in that episode indicating the active promotion of specifically Christian beliefs.

There is little to be said about the other works attributed to Achilles: *On the Sphere*, *On Etymology* and the *Miscellaneous History*. Fragments of an astronomical work *On the Universe* attributed to one 'Achilles' are preserved in a commentary on the Hellenistic poet Aratus.[19] Is this *On the Sphere*, and is it the work of our author? The dates are compatible: the

[10] Cf. Plepelits 1980: 2.
[11] *IG* XII *Suppl.* 26.
[12] *P.Sakaon* 1.1.
[13] *RCA* 441–5.
[14] Salway 1994: 133.
[15] Raised but discarded by Vilborg 1962: 1; see now Schmid-Dümmler 2018: 149–51.
[16] Cf. Δάφνις Τατίου, attested at Athens in a second-century CE inscription (*IG* II² 9481). Many of the MSS transmit our author's name in the form Ἀχιλλέως Ἀλεξανδρέως Τατίου: the word order lends some tentative support to the patronymic hypothesis.
[17] Dörrie 1938; Ramelli 2001: 81–101 by contrast leaves the possibility open. On A.'s possible awareness of Christianity see 2.2.5n.
[18] Soc. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.22; Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 73; Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccl.* 12.34.
[19] Di Maria 1996. No source adds the name 'Tatius' (or 'Statius') to Achilles the astronomer.

excerpts quote authors of the second century CE,[20] who thereby supply a *terminus post quem*, and a reference by the fourth-century Latin writer Firmicus Maternus to an astronomical text by 'Achilles' apparently supplies a *terminus ante quem*.[21] The density of learned literary quotation in the excerpts, moreover, offers one possible connection with *L&C*, and indeed one Homeric passage may be evoked by both authors.[22] But beyond these coincidences, there is no strong reason to connect the two; certainly nothing in *L&C* suggests a specific interest in astronomy. Scholarly consensus favours two distinct Achilleses, though some maintain that the two were already conflated in the *Suda* (i.e. that the work *On the Sphere* mentioned by the *Suda*, the work of a different Achilles, is the source of the surviving astronomical excerpts).[23] Of the *Miscellaneous History* (ἱστορία σύμμικτος) – which the author of the *Suda* entry seems to have read personally – we have not a trace, although a marvel-filled miscellany could easily have issued from the same pen that composed the kaleidoscopic *L&C*.

When did Achilles write? An Oxyrhynchus papyrus fragment dated to the mid-to-late second century CE gives us a clear *terminus ante quem*.[24] It was copied probably not more than a generation or two after the composition of our text. Achilles displays – albeit inconsistently – many of the hallmarks of Atticism, the archaising vogue for reconstructing the dialect of classical Athens that began in earnest in the early second century CE (Section 4(d)). Achilles also alludes to the romances of Xenophon of Ephesus and Chariton, both of which scholars tentatively place in the first century CE.[25] A date in the first half of the second century, therefore, is most likely.[26]

Not irrelevant to the question of dating is that of the era in which the narrative is set. Achilles gives few clues. The events must in principle postdate the construction of the lighthouse at Pharos in the late third century BCE (see 5.3–5), although anachronism is not unknown in the romances.[27] Karl Plepelits believed he could date the narrative more precisely to the

[20] Adrastus of Aphrodisias (16, 19) and Claudius Ptolemaeus (19).

[21] Firmicus Maternus 4.17.2.

[22] Hom. *Il.* 10.252–3: see Achilles the astronomer 1 di Maria, and 2.31.3n.

[23] E.g. Broderson at *BNP* Achilles Tatius 2.

[24] *P.Oxy.* 3836. On the role of papyri in the dating of A. see Henrichs 2011: 306–13; and see further below, Section 7.

[25] Bowie 2003. On the allusions see below, Section 4(a).

[26] Some would see in A.'s account of the *boukoloi* (bandits in the Egyptian countryside) a specific reference to the historical revolt of the *boukoloi* in 172–3 CE, but a post-173 date would be hard to square with the papyrological evidence; and in any case, the *boukoloi* must have existed, and have caused trouble, well before then (as an Alexandrian author will have known).

[27] Cf. the reference to Epicurus' garden at Heliodorus 1.16.5, in a romance set in the early classical period.

mid-first century CE, and specifically to 47 CE, on the basis of a claimed sighting of the phoenix and a war between Byzantium and Thrace.[28] It is unlikely that Achilles was aiming at this level of historical precision. There is, however, one passage in *L&C* in which direct reference is made to the culture of the contemporary world. At 2.35.3, Clitophon claims that love for males is fashionable 'these days' (νῦν).[29] Pederasty was of course commonly practised throughout Greek antiquity, but in the Roman era it gained a particular public prominence in Hadrian's reign, thanks to his celebrated romance with Antinous. Shortly after Antinous' death in September 130, the Egyptian poet Pancrates wrote a famous hexameter poem commemorating a lion hunt in north Africa, and possibly Antinous' subsequent drowning too.[30] It is possible that Achilles, another Egyptian, captured this atmosphere of sorrow and commemoration in his depiction of the tragic deaths of two young male lovers in *L&C* (1.12–14, 2.34).[31] Antinous died shortly after a hunt (the hunt and the death may have been linked by Pancrates); similarly, the boyfriend of Menelaus dies in a north African hunting accident.[32] If these allusions are accepted, then a date of composition between 131 (after Antinous' death) and 138 (when Hadrian himself died) is likeliest.[33]

The title of the work is uniformly transmitted as *The matters concerning Leucippe and Clitophon* (τὰ κατὰ Λευκίππην (or -ης) καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα (or -ῶντος)), and there is no need to suspect this.[34] The evidence suggests that all ancient romances were titled τὰ περί or τὰ κατά + either girl's name or (as here) girl's name + boy's name.[35] Some titles contained an additional topographical descriptor – thus Xenophon of Ephesus' romance was called *The Ephesian story of Anthia and Habrocomes*, and that of Heliodorus *The Ethiopian story of Charicleia and Theagenes* – but such descriptors were not *de rigueur*. It is unnecessary, therefore, to hypothesise

[28] Plepelits 1980: 18–27; 2003 (1996): 410–11.

[29] Baker 2018: 59–61 argues for other Hadrianic allusions, in the peacock (1.16) and phoenix (3.25.1–6) episodes.

[30] Fragments of the poem survive (*GDRK* 51–4); see further Whitmarsh 2018a on the attribution of the papyrus.

[31] These episodes also allude to the death of Hyperanthes in Xenophon of Ephesus (see nn.).

[32] Again there is a literary model here, in the form of the death of Atys in Herodotus 1 (2.33–4n.).

[33] For more details apparently drawn from contemporary life, see further Section 2(a).

[34] See n. 1 on the *Suda*'s 'and other erotic matters' (καὶ ἄλλα ἐρωτικά), probably not part of the formal title (but the line between formal title and description of contents was not always clearly drawn).

[35] This paragraph as a whole rests upon Whitmarsh 2005a and 2013: 36, with n. 4.

an additional, now-lost element to the title such as 'Phoenician matters' (Φοινικικά).[36] These 'titles' were, however, not fixed as they are for modern novels, since their primary function was merely to identify genre and content; and we do thus find variation and compression in ancient and Byzantine references to the titles of romances.

In sum, the evidence – such as it is – suggests that Achilles was a non-Christian Alexandrian, possibly the son of a Roman called Tatius; his romance *The matters concerning Leucippe and Clitophon* was probably composed in the first half of second century, perhaps at some point between 131 and 138 CE.

The romances were almost certainly designed to be accessed in the form of written texts.[37] What little we know about the readers of these texts we must deduce either from the quality of the extant papyri or from the demands placed on readers by the texts themselves. Nothing suggests that these texts (with the possible exception of Xenophon of Ephesus' *A&H*) were works of pulp fiction.[38] For all its erotic daring and thrilling, pacy narrative, *L&C* is composed in sophisticated Greek (Section 4(d)) and laced with echoes, sometimes recondite, of earlier literature (Section 4(a)). Its central characters are wealthy, literate property-owners. This does not *per se* rule out a sub-elite readership, particularly if we bear in mind the possibility (which, given our current state of knowledge, is all it can be) of mediaeval-style 'reading circles'. One does not need to grasp every allusion to enjoy a work of narrative fiction, and one does not need to be wealthy to enjoy a story about the wealthy. It remains likeliest, however, that *L&C*, along with other romances, was read primarily by the educated elite, who had the money to own books and the leisure to peruse them – as, indeed, we find Clitophon doing at 1.6.6.

As for the gender of the readership, we have few indications. Brigitte Egger has argued that the genre's concentration on strong female characters may have appealed to women, a greater proportion of whom were literate in the early Roman Empire than at any earlier time.[39] The *Wonders beyond Thule* of Antonius Diogenes was addressed to a female reader (the author's sister Isidora),[40] as are several of Plutarch's works.[41] When it comes to *L&C*, the only evidence we have is internal to the text, and that

[36] As does Henrichs 1972: 11.

[37] O'Sullivan 1995, however, argues that Xenophon of Ephesus' romance was originally an oral text.

[38] Bowie 1994; Stephens 1994; Cavallo 1996; Hunter 2008.

[39] Egger 1988.

[40] Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 166 (111a) = p. 127 S–W.

[41] *The Virtues of Women* and *Isis and Osiris* are addressed to a friend, Clea. The *Consolation* is addressed to his wife.

largely discourages any gynocentric hypothesis: this is a largely male-orientated narrative, in which women are the objects rather than the subjects of desire (in contrast to Chariton's *Call.* romance in particular, which places its heroine at the centre of the action).[42] Even so, it seems prima facie likely that Achilles anticipated at least some female readers: these may have enjoyed his romance ironically, as an exposé of the protocols of female silencing and the hypocrisies of sexual double standards (Section 6(a)).

Finally, we should note the intriguing possibility that the romances, among them *L&C*, may have been performed as mimes (a form of expressive dance that was hugely popular in Roman times).[43] Elisa Mignogna in particular has emphasised the parallels between mime plots and several episodes from the later books of *L&C*, and argued that one papyrus may contain the remnants of a Leucippe mime.[44]

2 ACHILLES AND HIS LITERARY CONTEXT

(a) L&C *and the Greek Novel*

L&C belongs to a genre that modern scholars call 'the Greek novel' or 'romance'.[45] In what follows, I use the label 'novel' for any work of ancient prose fiction, and 'romance' for the subset constituted by the five fully extant heterosexual narratives centred on young, mutual love, adventure and marriage: Xenophon of Ephesus' *A&H*, Chariton's *The matters concerning Callirhoe* (*Call.*), Achilles' *L&C*, Longus' *The Matters concerning Daphnis and Chloe* (*D&C*), and Heliodorus' *Charicleia and Theagenes* (*Ch&Th*). There is also a sizeable and growing corpus of fragments of novels from the imperial era (although how many of the texts from which these derive can be included within the narrower band of 'romances' we cannot be entirely sure).[46] The romances of the imperial era built upon literary foundations laid in classical and Hellenistic times, when there began to emerge stories of love and adventure that typically focused on lovers from different ethnic backgrounds, and indeed combined different cultural traditions of story-telling.[47] The imperial

[42] Morales 2004.
[43] Webb 2013. The evidence is strongest for the now-fragmentary *Metiochus and Parthenope*: see Luc. *De salt.* 2, 54; *Pseudologist.* 25.
[44] Mignogna 1996a, 1996b.
[45] For introductory orientation see Schmeling 2003 (1996); Whitmarsh 2008; Cueva and Byrne 2014.
[46] S–W, now supplemented by *P.Oxy.* 4760–2, 4811, 4945, 5262–3.
[47] Whitmarsh 2018c.

romances, however, tended to focus on lovers from (approximately) the same community. To refer to the romance as a 'genre' risks flattening out both the differences between the romances themselves (*A&H*, for example, is the only subliterary text; *D&C* is a pastoral romance) and the connections between them and other contemporary texts.[48] Nevertheless, the subject-matter shared between the romances (including their titling conventions: see previous section), their intertextual references to one another, and particularly their artful manipulations of readerly expectations born of experience with preceding romances, all collectively suggest the gradual, cumulative emergence of a sense (however non-prescriptive) of a genre.[49] Achilles exploits in particular the so-called *Scheintod* ('false death') motif, which is central to *Call.* (the plot of which is propelled by the jealous Chaereas, who in an impassioned act of domestic abuse kicks Callirhoe seemingly to death). In *L&C*, Clitophon mistakenly believes Leucippe to be dead on three separate occasions.[50]

Achilles' primary romance model is Xenophon of Ephesus (Section 4(a)). In Books 1–2, Xen. supplies one particularly significant precedent, in the form of Hippothous' tragic tale of his love for Hyperanthes (*A&H* 3.1–2). This supplies Achilles with two features: (1) 'first-person' narrative (sometimes called 'homodiegesis' or 'ego-narrative': Section 4(c)) and (2) a doomed 'homosexual' plot. Both are central to *L&C*. *L&C* is narrated in the first person throughout: in the opening section (1.1–2) an unidentified frame-narrator tells of his shipwreck in Sidon and his meeting with Clitophon; he then reports Clitophon's telling of his own story. First-person narration is Achilles' major innovation within the tradition, allowing him to generate an ironic distance from his protagonist and his plot. It also allows him to explore the subjectivity of desire much more closely: this is a romance about what it *feels like* to be in love. Achilles displays a sustained and (up to a point) serious interest in the psychology and physiology of sexual desire, including homoerotic desire; indeed, the debate that closes Book 2 offers arguably the most sustained theorising of sexual pleasure – female and male, hetero- and homoerotic – to survive from antiquity (including by some distance the most extensive and enthusiastic treatment in Greek literature of female orgasm). Relative to his primary competitors in the field of romance, Xenophon of Ephesus and Chariton, Achilles is not only more playful and oblique; he is also more visceral, more emotional, more sexual.

[48] Morales 2009.
[49] Whitmarsh 2013: 35–48.
[50] 3.15, 5.7, 7.3–4.

Achilles innovates in other ways too. Xenophon of Ephesus and Chariton both have their young lovers meet near the start of the plot, and marry; their adventures then separate them, before the happy reunion at the end. Though they face challenges and difficult decisions, the lovers in both novels are fundamentally virtuous throughout. In *L&C*, by contrast, the lovers elope together before getting married at the end (a pattern emulated by Longus (if he is later than Achilles) and Heliodorus). Although they do not have sex in the course of the romance, it is not (initially) for want of trying; Clitophon gives up on σωφροσύνη (self-control) early on (1.5.7), and has seemingly little difficulty in persuading Leucippe to admit him into her bedroom (2.19.2) – even if they are interrupted by Leucippe's mother before anything happens. Once they have escaped the household, it is only the intervention of Aphrodite in a dream that keeps them from consummating their love (4.1.3–8). The romance protocols of sexual virtue established by Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus are thus stretched to the very limit. Not only is this a romance that comes perilously close to sacrificing matrimonial ideals for sexual pleasure; it is also, from the parents' point of view, a story of criminal ἁρπαγή, of the illicit abduction of a female (Section 6(a)). From the adult perspective, there is little to separate Clitophon from the dastardly Callisthenes, who abducts Clitophon's sister Calligone (2.15–18). The narrative of *L&C*, therefore, has a dangerous, subversive edge that its predecessors lack. At the same time, it is antiquity's first major celebration of mutual teenage love as independent of (and indeed for much of the romance opposed to) parental will. It is thus the first great critique in the Greek tradition of the practice of arranged marriage (Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, which draws heavily on *L&C*, is the second).

Xenophon of Ephesus' *A&H* and Chariton's *Call.* are both, fundamentally, stories about the Greek city. Their lovers both hail from the highest echelons within the same *polis* (Ephesus and Syracuse respectively). Their marriages are celebrated with fanfare by the citizen bodies; and their ultimate returns home are seen (particularly in *Call.*) as a cause for joyous celebration among the citizenry. *L&C*, by contrast, is set in the city of Tyre on the Phoenician coast (modern Lebanon). In Achilles' day the Phoenician cities had been culturally Hellenised, but they retained a strong sense of ethnic distinctness; and *L&C* presents a Tyre that preserves at the very least a patina of its archaic Semitic culture, and perhaps rather more than that (Section 6(c)). There is, however, no sign of any political structure whatsoever at Tyre: events take place entirely within the household, and all the dynamics are interfamilial. This is a romance not about collective identity within the *polis*, but about individual psychology and family relationships.

Another striking difference between Achilles and his predecessors is the literary compendiousness of *L&C*. This is a text that gestures towards a worldview, albeit the worldview of a very distinctive narrator. Whereas the narratives of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus follow the events of the plot in linear fashion with little digression (except, in Xenophon of Ephesus, to fill in the backstories of certain characters), Achilles offers us a kaleidoscopic portrait of human and animal life. Within Books 1–2 alone we encounter art criticism, theological, philosophical and psychological theorising, exposition of mythology, both traditional Greek and (what is presented as) Tyrian, excursuses on natural history, a digression on aquatic marvels, a discussion of breeds of cows, a pair of fables (perhaps of Achilles' own invention) and the debate on 'heterosexual' and 'homosexual' love that closes Book 2. Clitophon and his companions love to expatiate: sometimes for their own calculated reasons (e.g. the seductive stories Clitophon tells in the presence of Leucippe at 1.16–19), sometimes so that Achilles can fill out and enrich the themes underlying the narrative (e.g. the opening ecphrasis of Europa), but sometimes, apparently, simply for the joy of a good anecdote (e.g. Chaerephon's inconsequential musings at 2.14.7–10).

'Parody'[51] is not quite the right word to capture Achilles' complex relationship to his predecessors. *L&C* is a witty, oblique and playful text, with moments of comedy: for example, when Clitophon describes the laments over the death of Charicles as 'a threnodic competition between father and lover' (1.14.1), or the episode in which Leucippe sneaks up on him as he is engaging in a wrought internal dialogue (2.6.1). We also encounter instances of self-reflexive awareness of the romance's status as a romance (1.3.3n., 1.5.6n., 1.6.6n., 2.34.1n.). But it is not a primarily metaliterary work like Lucian's *True Stories*, a text that is explicitly designed to mock predecessors.[52] Achilles' paradoxical work is *both* heavily literary *and* designed to speak to an aspect of human sexual life that had no real outlet for expression in existing literature. It is arguably the first articulation of the pressures and pains of teenage sexual awakening in world literature. The emphasis is primarily – given the identity of the narrator – upon the male Clitophon, who sees his erotic urges as necessarily conflicting with his father's wishes for him (1.11.3). But arguably the most emotionally powerful episode in Books 1 and 2 (precisely because of its unusualness in an otherwise egocentric narrative) is 2.29–30, where we find out (if Clitophon is reporting accurately) about the cares and anxieties that play upon Leucippe during her tussles with her mother.

[51] Durham 1938; Chew 2000. Fusillo 1989: 98–109 prefers 'pastiche'. Brethes 2007: 189–267 offers a nuanced reading of *L&C*'s comedic elements.

[52] Möllendorff 2000.

Achilles composed in a context in which rhetoric was everywhere (Section 4(b)): it provided the lenses through which the truths of the world were perceived. For a modern reader, without that rhetorical training, gauging the tonal effect is often difficult. Clitophon's oratorical disquisitions are often, no doubt, intended as absurd and artificial: in particular, his sudden shifts into generalisations about human nature (*sententiae* or γνῶμαι) are striking for their pomposity, their mixed metaphors and their tortuous syntax (Section 4(b)). Yet rhetoric came easily to educated Greek-speakers of the second century CE; patterns of speech that may strike modern readers as contrived (such as balanced antitheses, anaphora and rhythmic and rhyming cola) were probably used in everyday speech. How people spoke could be seen as an authentic indicator of character rather than as artificial embellishment.

Ultimately, *L&C* – like every work of fiction, but in a more exaggerated way than many – presents a complex relationship with reality.[53] The world in which it is set both is and is not 'real'. The description of the bay of Sidon with which the romance opens appears to be accurate, and designed to locate our story within real space (1.1–2n.). Hippias' house and garden in Tyre are described in some detail, to the extent that the layout can be reconstructed (Section 5(a)). Clitophon tells us on occasion about local Phoenician myths and customs (Section 6(c)). In later books we encounter similarly rich local descriptions of Alexandria and Ephesus. There are numerous details drawn from contemporary life. Hilton 2009 identifies, among other features, a possible encounter with the Roman army, with Roman-style 'shields that go down to their feet' (3.13.2); suggestive parallels with Petronius' *Satyrica* (a 'realist' novel set in the *demi-monde* of first-century CE Italy); perceived resemblances between the description of a painting of Andromeda and south Italian paintings found at Boscoreale and Pompeii; and the appearance of the phoenix, which excited the interest of a number of Roman commentators (3.25). All these elements are what Roland Barthes would call 'reality effects': they are designed to engender a sense that the world that exists in the penumbra of Clitophon's erotomaniac vision is a real one.[54]

But if Achilles had wanted to set his romance unambiguously in the modern world, as Petronius and the author of the pseudo-Lucianic *Ass* did, he could and would have done so very easily, by including specific references to Latin speakers, Romans and imperial officialdom. Though the political and institutional world of *L&C*, in so far as it is visible, may occasionally reflect aspects of Achilles' own world, there is little that

[53] On realism in the romances in general see Billault 1991: 122–41.
[54] Barthes 1986.

pinpoints it in time and space: much of it derives from a mishmash of literary sources, and in particular the tradition of rhetorical declamation.[55] In Achilles' day, members of the elite were educated by learning to deliver speeches based on imaginary legal codes in imaginary cities, loosely modelled on Classical Athens.[56] The influence of rhetoric on Achilles' (and, more generally, the romancers') presentation of institutional reality is most evident in the lawcourt episodes that were practically mandatory in the romance (cf. *L&C* 7.7–16, 8.7–15). 'The portrayal of law in the novels of Chariton, Achilles Tatius, and Heliodorus', writes Saundra Schwartz, 'is a bricolage. It draws from a range of sources: the declamations, the Attic orators, the revival of the culture of the classical polis, and the experience of living under Roman rule while grappling with distinctly Roman (i.e., foreign) ways of conceptualising legal disputes.'[57]

Greeks and Romans did not systematically divide their literature into 'fiction' and 'non-fiction', nor did they systematically theorise the nature of fictional literature; nevertheless they did recognise that stories could be invented in the heads of authors.[58] Achilles wrote in an era of great self-consciousness about literary fiction. *L&C* was composed (almost certainly) within a fifty-year period prior to Lucian's *True stories*, a text that famously advertises to its readers, 'I tell all kinds of lies in a plausible and specious way'; and 'everything in my story is a more or less comic parody of one or another of the poets, historians and philosophers of old, who have written much that smacks of miracles and fable' (1.2); but 'my lying is far more honest than theirs, for though I tell the truth in nothing else, I shall at least be truthful in saying that I am a liar' (1.4). *L&C* displays a number of self-conscious markers of fictionality. We open with an ecphrasis of a painting, a depiction of a myth requiring exegesis to lend it meaning (Section 4(b)). This highly artificial γραφή – here 'painting', but it could also hint at Achilles' 'text' – stands as a blazon for *L&C* as a whole (1.1.2–13n.). We then meet Clitophon, the narrator of the majority of the text, who states that his story resembles 'myths' (μύθοις, 1.2.2n.). Clitophon's own narrative reliability will frequently be called in question (Section 4(c)). In particular, he often seems to 'quote' the frame-narrator's description of Sidon and the painting, an effect known to modern narratologists as 'metalepsis', whereby narrative levels that 'should' be kept apart are collapsed into each other (Section 4(c)). Are we to

[55] Van Mal-Maeder 2007: 136–45.
[56] Russell 1983: 21–39.
[57] Schwartz 2016: 9.
[58] Whitmarsh 2013: 11–34.

imagine that the frame-narrator has rewritten Clitophon's narrative in his own terms? Metalepsis always exposes fictionality.[59]

Another marker of fictionality is the text's very literariness. Although it is presented as an intensely personal story, and although the style is often colloquial, this appearance of spontaneity stands in tension with the underlying artistry. Books 1 and 2 are clearly designed to operate together as a unit: there are numerous correspondences between them (Section 3(b)). Networks of imagery (notably the 'flower theme': Section 5(b)) add unity and complexity to individual episodes. Behind the narrator Clitophon we can often glimpse the hand of the 'hidden author' Achilles, steering events and pointing up gaps in the narrator's awareness (Section 4(c)). In particular, the density of literary reference is a sign of the crafted nature of the romance. From the echoes of Moschus in the Europa ecphrasis (1.1.2–13n.) and the clichéd allusions to Plato's *Phaedrus* in the frame (1.2.3n.) onwards, readers are constantly aware of the heavily allusive nature of Achilles' writing (Section 4(a)).

(b) Reception

In 1996, Karl Plepelits wrote that Achilles 'never enjoyed any recognisable *Nachleben* in pagan antiquity'.[60] This position is no longer tenable; in fact, Achilles can now be seen to be among the most influential writers of the second century. Fragments from seven ancient texts have been published, all from within 150 years of *L&C*'s composition (Section 7): this is more than for any other novelist, and among non-Christian texts of the imperial period the figure is matched only by Galen (seven) and exceeded only by Plutarch (nine), each of whom wrote much more than Achilles.[61] He was clearly an immediate hit in literary circles. A generation later, Lucian makes some use of Achilles, as (one more generation later) does Philostratus.[62] In Heliodorus' *Ch&Th* (probably fourth century)[63] and Aristaenetus' *Erotic Letters* (fifth century?) the allusions come thick

[59] Genette 2004.

[60] Plepelits 2003 (1996): 411.

[61] See Section 7. Six papyri survive of Aelius Aristides, another voluminous author.

[62] Lehmann 1910: 50–68 (not all of which alleged allusions, however, are convincing; and Lehmann assumes in both cases that A. is the later author); Schwartz 1967: 545–8 and 1976: 622–6 (again arguing that A. follows Lucian). Graverini 2009: 79 suggests that Apuleius may have known A. (or vice versa; but the received dating renders that unlikely).

[63] Plepelits 2003 (1996): 394–8; Neimke 1889: 22–55 lists a great number of parallels (he mistakenly believes, however, that Heliodorus is the earlier author).

and fast.[64] The fourth-century orators Himerius, Themistius and ps.-Libanius contain several allusions.[65] *L&C* was also exploited by the giants of late-antique poetry. In Musaeus' epyllion *Hero and Leander* – a poem that alludes in its very title (Τὰ καθ' Ἡρὼ καὶ Λέανδρον) to the conventions of the romance – *L&C* is by some distance the most important prose intertext; in particular, Leander's seduction of Hero at lines 101–220 puts into practice Clinias' advice at *L&C* 1.7–11.[66] Nonnus' magisterial *Dionysiaca* looks to Achilles throughout, and signals its affiliation by programmatically beginning (like *L&C*) with an ecphrastic description of Europa on the bull.[67] One striking point of contact is *Dion.* 40.304–10, the story of the discovery of Tyrian purple dye, which draws on *L&C* 2.11.4–8.

The very earliest Christian reception of Achilles was negligible, although scholars have detected a general similarity in structure between early Christian narrative literature (principally martyr acts and hagiographies) and the romance as a genre: both are, fundamentally, about perdurance and fidelity in the face of hostility and persecution.[68] It has been argued[69] that Charisius' dream in the second-century *Acts of Thomas* 91 (an eagle swoops down and snatches two partridges from a meal, then returns for more despite unsuccessful attempts to shoot it down) is influenced by Achilles 2.12 (an eagle swoops down and snatches a sacrificial victim from a meal table, despite unsuccessful attempts to scare it away), but the parallels are not conclusive.[70] In the fourth century, however, we find undeniable allusions in Synesius and Gregory of Nazianzus.[71] In later antiquity, doubts remained about Achilles' morality, but we also see signs of interpretative strategies designed to 'rescue' him by making him compatible with Christian ethics. A biographical tradition (reflected in the *Suda*'s biography quoted in Section 1) has him convert later in life to Christianity. One Christian hagiography tells of the life and martyrdom of St Galaction, the son of virtuous Phoenician parents named Leucippe and Clitophon.[72] The ninth-century bishop Photius read *L&C* and summarised its contents in his *Library*: he found that 'it seems exceptional in style

[64] Rohde 1914 (1876): 503–4 (with n. 1); Pietzko 1907: 27; Lehmann 1910: 5–12; Tagliabue 2013.
[65] Lehmann 1910: 30–46.
[66] Lehmann 1910: 12–25; Kost 1971: 29–32; Dümmler 2012.
[67] Frangoulis 2014, esp. 169–78; Miguélez Cavero 2016.
[68] E.g. Szepessy 1995; Shaw 1996.
[69] Klijn 1962: 269, and esp. Bremmer 1999: 25.
[70] Bremmer 1999: 22–3 notes resemblances between Bardaisan's (*BNJ* 719 F 1) description of an Indian test for criminality and the virginity test at 8.6, but again the parallels are suggestive rather than probative.
[71] Lehmann 1910: 25–30.
[72] *PG* 116.94.

and composition' (λέξει μὲν καὶ συνθήκηι δοκεῖ διαπρέπειν), but decried in the contents 'the quality that is beyond disgraceful, and unclean' (τὸ . . . λίαν ὑπέραισχρον καὶ ἀκάθαρτον).[73] An epigram in iambic trimeters attributed to Photius or Leo the Philosopher survives in Book 9 of the *Palatine Anthology* and in the Vatican MS containing *L&C* (V):

Ἔρωτα πικρόν, ἀλλὰ σώφρονας βίους
ὁ Κλειτοφῶντος ὡς παρεμφαίνει λόγος.
ὁ Λευκίππης δὲ σωφρονέστατος βίος
ἅπαντας ἐξίστησι, πῶς τετυμμένη
κεκαρμένη τε καὶ κατηχρειωμένη,
τὸ δὴ μέγιστον, τρὶς θανοῦσ' ἐκαρτέρει.
εἴπερ δὲ καὶ σὺ σωφρονεῖν θέλεις, φίλος,
μὴ τὴν πάρεργον τῆς γραφῆς σκόπει θέαν,
τὴν τοῦ λόγου δὲ πρῶτα συνδρομὴν μάθε·
νυμφοστολεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ποθοῦντας ἐμφρόνως.

1 σώφρονας βίους prop. Jacobs (metri gratia) : σώφρονα βίον codd. 2 ὡς παρεμφαίνει scripsi : μὲν παρεμφαίνει Brunck : ὅσπερ ἐμφαίνει Jacobs : ὥσπερ ἐμφαίνει codd. 9 πρῶτα suprascr. in *Anth. Pal.* : πρὸς τὴν codd. : πρὸς τί (*sc.* τείνει) Jacobs 9–10 om. V

How the story of Clitophon brings before our eyes a bitter passion, but chaste lives! And the most chaste life of Leucippe astonishes all: how she endured being beaten, having her head shorn, mistreatment, and – above all – three deaths. If, my friend, you too wish to live chastely, pay no attention to the incidental details of the picture, but first learn the conclusion of the story; for it joins in wedlock lovers who loved wisely.[74]

What is striking about the epigram is its reading of the plot in terms of moral biography (βίος): the root σωφρον- appears three times in ten lines, and ἐμφρόνως once (whereas in *L&C* itself, Clitophon specifically renounces σωφροσύνη: 1.5.7 with n.). The plot analysis centres on the suffering and endurance (καρτερία) of Leucippe: as in so many Christian texts, a young woman's preservation of her bodily integrity amid a world of threat and violence becomes a parable for the ultimate victory of (Christian) virtue. What is more, 'you too' (καὶ σύ), dear reader, can re-experience those trials in the act of reading *L&C*, and thus – so long as you ignore all the scurrilous elements – emerge triumphant and morally

[73] Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 87 (66a) = T 11 Vilborg.
[74] *Anth. Pal.* 9.203, trans. Paton (adapted) = T 1 Vilborg. For discussion see Tissoni 2002, who attributes it to Leo.

unscathed. The threat facing the male addressee (φίλος) is not sexual assault but temptation. We should focus on the outcome of the text in marriage, the poem tells us, not on the 'incidental details of the picture' (a phrase that seems to allude to the frame-narrator's obsessively erotic scanning of the picture of Europa). Whether this is an earnest attempt to recuperate a dangerous text or a playfully oblique advertisement of risqué content (or both?) is hard to gauge.

Achilles continued to be read in mediaeval Byzantium. The so-called Grottaferrata recension of the folk epic *Digenes Akritas* (centring on the heroic adventures of the half-Greek half-Arab Basil) contains numerous borrowings from Achilles, particularly the erotic episodes of Book 6.[75] In the eleventh century, his *sententiae* (Section 4(b)) were excerpted in florilegia by figures known to us as pseudo-Maximus and Antonius Melissa, and the polymath Michael Psellos wrote an essay comparing him (unfavourably, on moral grounds) with Heliodorus. He was heavily imitated by the four major twelfth-century novelists, Eustathios Makrembolites (whose *Hysmene and Hysmenias* follows Achilles particularly closely), Theodoros Prodromos, Niketas Eugenianos, and Constantine Manasses.[76] Paraphrases survive containing *skhedē* (improvised paraphrases) of two episodes, the fable of the lion and the mosquito (2.22) and Clitophon receiving Leucippe's letter (5.17).[77] These were apparently classroom exercises: the first was composed by a headmaster, George of Myrrha. Although it is intriguing to speculate how *L&C* might have been received in the mediaeval educational system, however, there is no guarantee that the romance was read in schools in its entirety (rather than in the form of excerpts). Elsewhere, Achilles' horticultural descriptions found particular favour in a culture that prized gardens as expressions of sophistication and power, and had regular recourse to the example of the Biblical garden of Eden.[78] His style too appealed to literary critics in this era, for whom he could stand (alongside others including Isocrates and Libanius) as a model of the 'humble, pure style'.[79] Recent scholarship has emphasised that 'the novels played a more important role in the twelfth century than has usually been assumed . . . Moreover, the novel by Tatius was just as appreciated as a stylistic model as that by Heliodorus, if not more.'[80]

[75] Schissel 1942, and esp. Dyck 1994.
[76] See Burton 2008.
[77] Nilsson and Zagklas 2017: 1133–44.
[78] Littlewood 1979.
[79] Josephus Rhacendyta in *RG* Walz III p. 526 = T XIII Vilborg (A. is also praised on p. 521 = T XII Vilborg).
[80] Nilsson and Zagklas 2017: 1147.

In mediaeval western Europe, Achilles could be read in a relatively large number of manuscripts,[81] and from the sixteenth century onwards in printed texts too. After the runaway success of Heliodorus – Vincentius Obsopoeus' edition appeared in 1534, and Jacques Amyot's famous translation in 1547 – Achilles was an obvious choice for printers. A translation into Latin by Annibale della Croce appeared in 1544 (initially containing only Books 5–8; the complete text appeared in 1554), followed by renderings into Italian (1551), French (1556) and English (1597); translations into Spanish, German and Dutch followed in the seventeenth century. The first complete Greek text was published in 1601. Achilles was thereafter, along with Heliodorus, hugely influential on the development of European literature, including Shakespeare and Spenser, until he fell out of favour in the nineteenth century.[82]

3 BOOKS 1 AND 2

(a) Plot and Characters

Book 1 opens with a frame story, in which an unnamed narrator meets Clitophon in Sidon. The story he begins at 1.3.1 then becomes the remainder of the plot, narrated largely in chronological order. In Book 1, he tells of how Leucippe and her mother Pantheia come from Byzantium to stay with Clitophon, his father Hippias, and his half-sister (and fiancée) Calligone in Tyre. Clitophon immediately falls for Leucippe. He seeks out his cousin Clinias for seduction advice. Clinias' beloved Charicles dies in a riding accident. Undeterred, Clitophon continues to attempt to seduce Leucippe. Book 2 (which is 30 percent longer than Book 1) begins with more flirtation and fantasy, abetted by Clitophon's slave Satyrus, who like Clinias offers seduction advice. Calligone is abducted by a malevolent rich man called Callisthenes, who believes her to be Leucippe. Leucippe agrees to admit Clitophon to her room at night; a conspiracy is formed, including Satyrus and Leucippe's slave Clio. First, however, they must drug the slave Conops, who is keeping watch. When Clitophon enters, Pantheia is woken by a dream that her daughter is being attacked. Clitophon manages to escape as she comes in, and Leucippe denies that she knows the visitor to the room. Clitophon and Satyrus, realising that Pantheia is likely to torture the truth out of Clio, escape to Clinias' house. All three of

[81] Nakatani 2005: 9–18; Reeve 2008: 289–90. More generally on aspects of the reception of the romances see Bianchi 2011. Ricquier 2019: 22–5 lists the early modern printed editions and translations.

[82] Plazenet 1997; Nakatani 2005.

them decide to flee. Clio too escapes from the house, and Clinias makes arrangements to have her spirited away; this relieves the immediate threat that Clitophon will be unmasked as the nocturnal visitor. Pantheia questions Leucippe, but gets nothing out of her. Leucippe tells Satyrus that she wants to run away, so she, Clitophon, Clinias and Satyrus escape by carriage to Sidon, where they board a ship bound for Alexandria. There they meet a man called Menelaus, who like Clinias has recently lost his beloved: in this case, he himself (Menelaus) accidentally killed him with a spear while on a boar hunt. To cheer up Menelaus and Clinias, Clitophon initiates a debate on the relative merits of loving females and males. The book ends on a hopeful note, out at sea.

Books 1 and 2 therefore form a thematic unit (Section 3(b)): they describe how Clitophon and Leucippe fall in love, come into conflict with the parental regime in their house and escape from Tyre. This phase corresponds to the openings of Chariton's and Xenophon of Ephesus' romances, where the lovers meet and are forced into exile (*Call.* 1.1–9; *A&H* 1.1–10); it is extended, however, so as to occupy fully one-quarter of the romance. This reorientation indicates Achilles' priorities: he is much more interested than his predecessors in the psychology of desire, and the conflict between young love and parental obligation.

The central question raised in Book 1 is: will Leucippe reciprocate Clitophon's passion? Clinias' advice to Clitophon places great emphasis upon the need for patience and persuasion: nothing can happen without the girl's consent (1.10.7). There are, however, in Book 1 but the briefest, most ambiguous signs of any interest on Leucippe's part in her pursuer; we read not a single word that has issued from Leucippe's own mouth. When he meets up with her in the garden and delivers his natural-historical disquisitions on the universal power of love, Clitophon tells us, she 'covertly signalled that it was not without pleasure that she was listening' (ὑπεσήμαινεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἀκούειν, 1.19.1). Clinias has warned Clitophon that girls will express their consent subtly, using gestural signs rather than explicit language (1.10.5–6). Clitophon certainly seems confident that Leucippe is giving him positive signals; but do we, as readers, trust him? How good a reader of his cousin's feelings is he?

In Book 2, by contrast, it quickly becomes clear that she is indeed interested. In the second symposium, Clitophon, emboldened by wine, begins to gaze at Leucippe 'shamelessly'; she reciprocates by looking at him 'more probingly' (2.3.3). An encounter in the garden leads Clitophon to call her 'mistress', an indication of his erotic servitude to her; she pretends not to understand why (or at least Clitophon believes it is a pretence: 2.6). By the time of the text's third symposium, they are exchanging wine cups, and drinking from the same spot as each other (2.9.1). Now that it seems clear

that Leucippe is amenable, then, the central question in Book 2 is what the two young lovers are going to do about the situation, given their parents' vigilance and different plans for each of them. The pivotal moments of this book are: the abduction of Calligone, which clears Clitophon's path to Leucippe (2.11–18); Leucippe's assent to having Clitophon visit her at night (2.19.1); and the entry of Clitophon into Leucippe's bedroom (2.23), followed by his discovery by Pantheia. These events represent the climax of the narrative so far – and, potentially, the culmination of the romance plot as a whole, if that is imagined as centring on the seduction of Leucippe. Yet the attempt is a failure, serving merely to initiate a new phase in the narrative: the episode becomes a crisis, making it both difficult and dangerous for Leucippe and Clitophon to remain in Tyre.

Achilles' handling of narrative will be considered in detail in Section 4(c); for now let us consider the named characters we meet in Books 1 and 2. These are, in order: Clitophon, Hippias, Leucippe, Pantheia, Clinias, Charicles, Charicles' father, Satyrus, Clio, Callisthenes, Sostratus, Chaerephon, Calligone, Conops, Menelaus. Some of these names carry connotations. Clitophon, Hippias, Clinias and Chaerephon are characters in Platonic dialogues (as are Charmides and Gorgias, whom we meet later on).[83] Pantheia shares her name with the heroine of a mini-romance embedded in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (Section 4(a)). Charicles, Callisthenes and Calligone are names associated with beauty, like Callirhoe and Chaereas in the romance of Chariton (whose own name – or pseudonym? – is of this kind). Calligone was also the name of (apparently) the heroine of a different romance.[84] Satyrus, Clio and Conops are not distinctively servile names (see 1.16.1n.; 2.20.1n.), but are nevertheless indicative of these slaves' functions. Satyrus' role is to help fulfil Clitophon's sexual mission; his name (which is relatively common: *LGPN* records 506 examples) suggests a satyr, a mythical, Dionysiac half-goat half-human creature often found in an ithyphallic state. It may also hint at the city of Tyre itself: a famous story had Alexander the Great dream of a satyr (σάτυρος = σὰ Τύρος, 'Tyre (is) yours') prior to his successful siege of the city (Plut. *Alex.* 24.8–9; Artem. *Oneir.* 4.24.18–25). Clio's name (Κλειώ) derives from κλέος ('glory'), and its most famous bearer was one of the Muses (Hes. *Th.* 77); it is also well attested for historical and imagined mortals, both cultivated women (e.g. the addressee of Simonides fr. 72 *PMG*) and hetaerae (*Anth. Gr.* 5.17). Achilles, however, seems to associate it with κλεῖν, 'to lock': she is, amongst other things, the guardian of Leucippe's bedroom (see further Section 5(a)). Antonius Diogenes'

[83] The *Clitophon* is not now generally considered to be Platonic.
[84] *PSI* VIII 981 (= pp. 272–4 S–W); *P.Oxy.* 5355.

Wonders beyond Thule may also have featured a Clio (if Κλει[οῦς] is read at *P.Oxy.* 5354.10). Conops means 'mosquito', and there is much play on his similarity to an annoying insect; and Satyrus punningly connects him to the Homeric Cyclops too. His name may additionally carry a pseudetymological hint at the idea of surveillance (ὄψ = 'eye'). 'Leucippe' may suggest a number of minor mythical figures (including one of the Minyades, who sacrificed her own daughter to Dionysus).[85] Given the centrality of materialism to the text (Section 6(b)), it also evokes the atomist philosopher Leucippus. It may have put other readers in mind of the girls' game 'Tortoise', celebrated in Erinna's *Distaff*;[86] salacious readers, on the other hand, may have thought of the Aristophanic phrase 'white horse' (λευκὸς ἵππος), slang for 'penis'.[87]

Scholars once considered the ancient romances' characters as static and two-dimensional. Recent criticism has done much to shift this view, by taking into account the differing expectations about character operative in the Greco-Roman world.[88] The characterisation of some of the lesser inhabitants of Achilles' world is, inevitably, light: I focus here on the primary characters. The two parents, Hippias and Pantheia, are concerned primarily with the performance of social identity, at the expense of their children's desires: Clitophon's father comes across as a self-regarding patriarch fond of display (1.5.1–2, 2.3.1–2), Leucippe's mother as vindictive and punitive (2.24, 28–9). The parents represent what a post-Freudian age would name the 'super-ego': both Leucippe (2.30) and Clitophon (1.11.3) see themselves (or at least their emotions) as in conflict with their parents. The domineering tendency in both casts its shadow over the two books, and feeds the young lovers' desire for freedom (cf. 2.30).

The slaves Satyrus, Clio and Conops are prominent agents, but being slaves do not receive full characterisation (Section 6(c)). Satyrus is a *servus callidus* in the mould of New Comedy, a wily plotter; he also seems (true to his satyric name, and no doubt to slave stereotypes) capable of seducing female slaves at will, and without attachment, when it suits his purpose (2.4.1, 2.31.2). Clio is largely colourless, although we get a glimpse of her bravery in the episode in which she escapes the house and demands to

[85] Antoninus Liberalis 10, derived from Nicander's *Metamorphoses* and Corinna.

[86] One girl, the 'Tortoise', sits while the others run around her: she alternates lines with the collective. After her final line, λευκᾶν ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς θάλασσαν ἅλατο, she leaps up to catch one of them (Poll. 9.125). The white horses are specifically mentioned by Erinna, *Distaff* (= *SH* 401) 15.

[87] Ar. *Lys.* 191–2, with Henderson 1991 (1975): 127.

[88] De Temmerman 2014: 152–204.

leave with the three men (2.26); and Conops reflects ugly stereotypes of slaves as lazy and untrustworthy (2.20.1; see again Section 6(c)). Charicles is a frothy *naïf*, interested more in playing with his new horse than in confronting the challenges he faces (1.8.10–11). Callisthenes is interesting primarily for his 'conversion': when we meet him in Book 2 he is 'dissolute and extravagant' (2.13.1); in Book 8, however, it is revealed that after the abduction of Calligone he repented, respected her virginity and kept her safe until the end of the war, when he returned her to Sostratus, at which point a marriage was agreed (8.17.2–18.5). Menelaus and Clinias are similar to each other, and not just in terms of their sexual preferences: Menelaus, who appears only at the end of Book 2, will turn out to be another faithful ally and adviser to Clitophon.

Clinias, however, is a considerably more important character, and his relationship with his younger cousin Clitophon is the second-most important relationship in *L&C*. Clitophon looks up to Clinias for his greater erotic experience (1.7.1). Clinias is misogynistic and aristocratic, and prone to dispensing advice. He and Clitophon have qualities in common (as well as sharing the first four letters of their names, and the κλέος root): each has a comical tendency to exaggerate the gravity of the situation, and to plunge into despondent or overwrought rhetoric (cf. Clinias' attack on women at 1.8.1–9 and Clitophon's maudlin analysis of his situation at 1.9.1–2). Clinias, however, prefers males to females. He comes across as a representative of the traditional aristocratic elite (1.7.1n., on his preoccupation with χάρις, reciprocal obligation). It is tempting to see Clitophon and Clinias functioning as a dyad: the one prefers males and the other females, but both are myopic obsessives, squinting at the world through the filter of their own desires. But there is mutual reliance too. Their distinct proclivities mean that they have less emotional investment in each other's romances: this distance manifests itself sometimes as chilly detachment (1.15.1n.), but sometimes as judicious benignity. It is Clitophon who initiates the erotic debate at 2.35–8: Clinias has become absorbed in his own sorrow, thanks to Menelaus' tale of woe, and Clitophon sees the need to lighten the mood. Conversely, as the narrative progresses, Clinias becomes the calm head, reining in the emotional excesses of Clitophon in his obsessive moments.[89]

The most important relationship in the romance is, of course, that between Leucippe and Clitophon themselves. Clitophon presents himself as ingenuous, 'a novice when it comes to women' (2.37.5) and ill equipped to deal with the ravaging effects of desire. He experiences

[89] Whitmarsh 2011: 207–10.

the most familiar symptoms of love-sickness as an unparalleled disaster (1.9.1–2). His primary resource in attempting to make sense of his world is a series of pretentious *sententiae*, often comically undermined by clumsy mixed metaphors (Section 4(b)). He can be self-centred and even callous: this is particularly the case in the aftermaths of the death of Charicles (1.14.1n., 1.15.1n.) and the abduction of Calligone (2.18.6n.).

Leucippe is difficult to read through the veils of Clitophon's narration. As already noted, she does not speak until early in Book 2 (2.6.2). In Achilles' world, women are subject to protocols of αἰδώς ('shame'), which restrict their free expression (1.10.2–4; Section 6(a)). When she does speak, in Book 2, what we would seem to hear are the words of a clever, educated, witty, self-possessed and passionate young woman, who is more than a match for Clitophon. In the discussion at 2.6, she appears to run rings round him, misunderstanding (deliberately – so, at least, Clitophon thinks) his allusion to the Heracles and Omphale story and signalling her knowingness with a smile and a laugh. Or has Clitophon misread the situation? Is Leucippe genuinely naive, and does she genuinely misunderstand?

The following episode is an instructive lesson in the difficulties of reading her intentions. Clitophon pretends to be stung on the lip, knowing that she will whisper a spell over it. He then kisses her; she pulls back, saying 'What are you doing? Do you know spells too?' (2.7.5). Another ironic display of flirtatious faux-naivety? Or is she genuinely discomfited by his ardour? Clitophon responds, 'It is the singer of spells that I am kissing, because you have healed my pain' (2.7.6). He takes her smile as a covert sign that she understands, and he kisses her more freely, taking her resistance as a mere display (2.7.7). As well as raising the troubling issue of consent (Section 6(a)), the episode is notable for presenting Leucippe's character as a 'hermeneutic question'.[90] Is Leucippe really the smart, ironic dissembler that Clitophon paints her as? Or is she a naive young girl who is being manipulated against her will? Certainly, by the time of the bedroom episode she has become a willing conspirator; but we learn nothing of the devices Clitophon has deployed to persuade her, or of her responses to them (2.19.1–2). Leucippe has one major speech in Books 1 and 2, in which she magnificently rejects her mother's accusations (2.25.1; cf. 2.28.2) – a speech that takes place, perhaps significantly, with no men present. We could choose to dismiss this as Clitophon's own invention (he never tells us exactly how he found out her words, although he could have heard from Clio or Leucippe herself); or we could point to the parallel recriminations delivered by Leucippe later in the narrative (5.18;

[90] De Temmerman 2014: 194.

6.12–13), and conclude that such protestations of virtue are authentic signs of self-belief and courage.

The question of the characterisation of Leucippe is inseparable from that of the characterisation of Clitophon as a narrator, who mediates the presentation of her (and everyone else's) character. The more we choose to emphasise the idiosyncrasies of Clitophon's narration – that is, the more manipulation we suspect, the more blindness to others and misunderstanding of their motives – the less we can claim to know of the taciturn character of Leucippe.[91] The fact that *L&C* is homodiegetically narrated determines the reading of all character in the text, but particularly that of its female lead, who is subject both to social protocols that restrict her freedom of expression and to Clitophon's distorting fantasies (cf. 2.1.3 where he imagines that he can see flowers on her face). Clitophon's vision of the world is undoubtedly a narrow one, and filtered through his own desires: like the frame-narrator who, being 'erotically inclined' (ἐρωτικός) focuses on one aspect of the painting (1.2.1), Clitophon sees only what he wants to see. 'I see imaginary visions of Leucippe continually' (πάντοτε Λευκίππην φαντάζομαι) he tells Clinias (1.9.1); and the Leucippe that he sees is, precisely, an imaginary one. Yet to conclude that Leucippe is *solely* the result of projection on Achilles' part would be reductive, and would erase one of ancient literature's most engaging – if elusive – female characters. Ultimately, Leucippe remains (like Penelope in the *Odyssey*) a figure of indeterminacy: neither a pure figment nor a fully realised character, but an absent presence, constituted by the very play of narrative revelation and concealment.

(b) Books 1 and 2 as a Unit

The homodiegetic narration of *L&C* means that the sequence of events mimics the patterns of real life, with events apparently tumbling out as Clitophon remembers them and judges them salient. Behind Clitophon the narrator, however, sits Achilles the author, who has structured his work with care. One of these structural elements is book division. It is evident that romance-writers (Xenophon of Ephesus perhaps apart) thought hard about how to divide their material. Chariton breaks his narrative into two halves, beginning Book 5 with a prominent recapitulation of events so far; this is the point at which Callirhoe crosses the Euphrates and realises that she is transitioning from Europe to Asia.[92] Chariton's narrator intervenes once again at the start of Book 8, with another recapitulation and a

[91] Cf. de Temmerman 2014: 202–5.
[92] Whitmarsh 2009: 42–3.

promise that 'this final book' (τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο σύγγραμμα, *Call.* 8.1.4) will be more pleasant for readers. Longus has his narrator speak in his prologue of the 'four books' of *D&C* (τέτταρας βίβλους, *D&C pr.* 2), and these loosely reflect the four seasons.

In *L&C*, the book division, though disguised by homodiegesis, is nevertheless subtly marked. Correspondences between the frame-narrator's description of Sidon here and Clitophon's of Alexandria at the start of Book 5 (1.1.2n.) signal that Achilles conceived of his eight-book work as falling into two halves, like Chariton's *Call.*[93] There is also evidence that he works with two-book units.[94] Saiichiro Nakatani has observed that there are three major descriptions of paintings in *L&C*, and that these fall at or near the beginnings of Books One, Three and Five; their contents, moreover, overshadow those of the book-pair that they announce.[95] In terms of content, *L&C* can be seen to fall into three sections (excluding the initial frame), each initiated by pictorial ecphrasis: Books 1 and 2 deal with events at home in Tyre, and the escape; Books 3 and 4 (strictly 3.5–5.15) deal with events in the Nile Delta, and Books 5–8 (strictly 5.17–8.19) cover the Ephesian love quadrangle between Leucippe, Clitophon, Melite and Thersander. Each of the first two sections thus falls (nearly) into a two-book unit, while the third occupies (nearly) four books.

Books 1 and 2 can be read as an artfully constructed whole. For a start, there is an evident ring composition. Book 1 begins with the frame-narrator arriving in a Phoenician city just after a shipwreck; Book 2 concludes with the protagonists at sea, having left a Phoenician city (prior to the shipwreck that will open Book 3). Leucippe and Clitophon's escape by sea also responds to the ecphrasis of Europa sailing out to sea on the bull at 1.1.2–13 (see further Section 4(b)). The strong evocations of Plato's *Phaedrus* in the topographical description at 1.2.3 (see n. *ad loc.*) are mirrored by the strong evocations of the *Symposium* in the erotic debate at 2.35–8 (see n. *ad loc.*).

There are many internal correspondences between the beginnings of Books 1 and 2:[96]

[93] Whitmarsh 2009: 44–5.
[94] Sedelmeier 1959: 113–14; similarly Schmid-Dümmler 2018: 43–7.
[95] Nakatani 2003: 67–73; cf. Sedelmeier 1959: 119.
[96] For precise verbal parallels see the nn. on the relevant passages from Book 2.

Book 1	Book 2
Intermediality: the frame narrator describes a painting of Europa on the bull (1.1.2–13). The painting describes an animal (bull) and a flowery meadow.	Intermediality: Clitophon recaps Leucippe's songs in prose (2.1.1–3). The songs focus on animals (a lion and a boar) and a flower (the rose).
Phoenician religion: offerings to Astarte, the Phoenician equivalent of Aphrodite (1.1.2).	Phoenician religion: the festival of Dionysus, claimed as an originally Phoenician deity (2.2).
Symposium at Hippias' house (1.5).	Symposium at Hippias' house (2.3).
Clitophon goes to Clinias for erotic advice (1.7–11).	Clitophon goes to Satyrus for erotic advice (2.4.4–5).
Clitophon and Clinias are interrupted mid-debate by the sudden (ἐξαίφνης) arrival of a slave bearing news about Charicles (1.12.1).	Clitophon is interrupted in the midst of an internal debate (διαλεγόμενος) by the sudden (ἐξαίφνης) realisation that he is standing next to Leucippe (2.6.1).

The conclusions of the two books are also aligned: in both cases, a 'homosexual' lover loses his beloved (Clinias in real time, Menelaus in the flash-back narrative at 2.34: on the echoes of the death of Charicles here see 2.33–4n.); in both books, Clitophon proceeds to initiate a series of philosophical disquisitions on the nature of love (1.16–18; 2.35–8).

There are other correspondences between the two books that do not follow the strict narrative sequence. The pair of songs that Leucippe sings to the accompaniment of the lyre at 2.1.1–3 respond not just to the opening ecphrasis but also to the pair sung by the slave at 1.5.4–5 (2.1.1n. on ἐλίγαινε). The crisis of Clitophon's impending marriage to Calligone in Book 2 mirrors the impending marriage of Charicles in Book 1 (2.11–18n.); in each case, an unwanted marriage is averted by a tragedy. The description of the Tyrian festival at 2.15.2–4 contains a number of echoes of the Europa ecphrasis (see n. *ad loc.*), and indeed specifically compares the sacrificial bulls to the bull in the Europa myth (2.15.4). The animal fables told by Satyrus to Conops echo the natural-historical discourses delivered by Clitophon to Leucippe (2.19–25n.). Pantheia's lament for the supposed loss of Leucippe's virginity responds to Charicles' father's on the death of his son (2.24.1–4n.). Clitophon's painful feelings following the initial sting of love (1.4.4) are mirrored by Leucippe's feelings of isolation after the failed tryst (2.29n.). In the debate that concludes Book

2, Menelaus' arguments for the superiority of the love of males and the inferiority of that of females evoke those of Clinias in Book 1 (2.35–8n.).

These subtle links between the two books do more than remind the reader of the underlying artistry of the text: they also create complex thematic nexuses. In particular they invite the reader to consider the relationship between the events in *L&C* and the mythical rape of Europa; to compare and contrast the situations of the 'homosexual' couple Clinias and Charicles and the heterosexual couple Leucippe and Clitophon; and to explore the narrative of desire against the backdrop of the natural landscape and its animal inhabitants (Section 5(b)).

4 ALLUSION, RHETORIC, NARRATIVE, LANGUAGE

(a) Allusion

Like much of the Greek literature of the second century CE,[97] *L&C* is saturated with literary reminiscences.[98] At times, these acts of remembering are explicitly marked: so, for instance, Clinias explicitly evokes the tradition of representing duplicitous women on the dramatic stage as part of his diatribe against women and marriage (1.8.4). On other occasions the allusions may be subtler, and indeed may be attributed to the design of Achilles the author rather than to that of Clitophon the narrator. Achilles occasionally includes allusive indices of the kind that have come to be known as 'Alexandrian footnotes': thus at 1.4.3 it is said that Leucippe's cheek 'imitated (ἐμιμεῖτο) the purple with which a Lydian woman might dye ivory', where the Homeric imitation (*Il.* 4.141–2) may be thought to be covertly signalled by the verb (1.4.3n.; cf. 2.11.3n.). Similarly at 1.1.6 it is said that an irrigator 'had been drawn (ἐγέγραπτο)' on the painting: the use of the verb γράφειν (which can also mean 'write') may hint at the textual allusion to Hom. *Il.* 21.257–9 (1.1.6n.).

The romance, as a genre dedicated to travel, erotic intrigue, adventure, recognition and homecoming, always looked to the *Odyssey* as a prototype.[99] The *Odyssey* does not play in *L&C* the central, structuring role that it does in Heliodorus' *Ch&Th*,[100] but there is a clear echo at the start: the motif of the shipwrecked sailor coming ashore looks to Odysseus' arrival

[97] Whitmarsh 2001.

[98] Generally on allusion in the romances see Fusillo 1989: 17–109; Morgan and Harrison 2008.

[99] In what follows, I concentrate on stronger, more significant allusions rather than ornamental reminiscences of well-known tags and phrases (detailed in the nn.).

[100] Whitmarsh 1998.

at Scheria in *Odyssey* 6 (1.1–2n., 1.2.1n., 1.2.2n.), and the slave singing at the banquet looks like Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8 (1.5–6n.). The Homeric poems are repeatedly evoked at particular moments, for exemplarity, for literary texture or for learned allusion. The *Iliad* is the more important – as one might expect from an author with this name. Achilles has a fondness for Iliadic similes, the signature device of the poet of military epic, weaving one into the Europa ecphrasis (1.1.6n.), borrowing another for the description of Leucippe's face (1.4.3n.), and citing another *verbatim* in a eulogy of male beauty (1.8.7n.); Leucippe even sings a song based on a Homeric lion simile (2.1.1n.). Iliadic colouring is sought for the death of Charicles, a handsome youth who dies tragically young like Patroclus (1.12.5n.), and (comically) for the mosquito's vaunting to the lion in the fable told by Satyrus (2.22.1n., 2.22.2n.). We encounter direct references to Briseis and Chryseis (1.8.5n.), and to Helen (1.8.6n.). There is a recondite allusion to the snow-white horses of Rhesus (*Il.* 10.436–7) at 2.15.3, and there are three direct quotations, which serve as markers of elite sophistication:[101] *Il.* 2.478 at 1.8.7 (Agamemnon's beauty, mentioned above), *Il.* 19.301–2 (Achilles' slaves weep 'allegedly for Patroclus') at 2.34.7, and *Il.* 20.234–5 (two lines relating to Ganymede) at 2.36.3, in the erotic debate that closes Book 2.

Achilles uses the *Odyssey* too: the Sirens are evoked by Clinias as an instance of dangerous feminine allure (1.8.2n.), as is Penelope (1.8.6n.); the wine given to Odysseus by the Thracian Maron is mentioned (2.2.2n.), and the drugging of Conops is explicitly compared to the intoxication of the Cyclops (2.23.3n.). Subtler allusions occur at 2.7.2, 2.23.1 and 2.29.2 (see nn.). In sum, Achilles and his principal characters, like all educated Greeks of his day, know Homer intimately, and use him in a variety of ways, ranging from general evocations of famous episodes to intricate quotation, allusion and ornamentation. What we do not find are either Chariton's integration of Homeric quotation into the narrative[102] or the kind of allegorisation and 'philological' reinterpretation indulged in by Heliodorus' Calasiris (though there are hints elsewhere of Achilles' interest in allegory).[103]

Clitophon presents his story as a δρᾶμα (1.3.3, with n.); the word recurs later in connection with the romance plot (cf. 1.9.1, 1.10.7, 2.28.1). By Byzantine times, the δραμ- root was specifically connected with the genre of the romance,[104] and it appears to have some of that connection for

[101] Cresci 1976.
[102] Manuwald 2000; Hirschberger 2001.
[103] Lamberton 1986: 150–2. On allegory see Section 6(b).
[104] Especially the adjective δραματικός: see Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 73 (50a); cod. 87 (66a); cod. 94 (73b); cod. 166 (109a). On Photius' use of δρᾶμα terms see Agapitos 1998: 129.

Achilles too. The association with theatrical drama seems to rest at once on the twists and turns of the plot (it is Τύχη who begins the δρᾶμα at 1.3.3) and on the engaging emotional content (cf. Chariton's πάθος ἐρωτικόν, *Call.* 1.1.1). 'Drama' could be taken to refer to either tragedy or comedy: the former suggests suffering and plaintive wailing (which could be seen as bombastic or histrionic: this is what τραγωιδῶν signals at 8.1.5), the latter happy endings. These two modes are played off against each other in the romances: typically a protagonist will lament her or his tragic situation, but the reader knows that the ending will be a happy one.[105] Sometimes one character will declaim tragically, while another will urge optimism. In *L&C* this situation arises more frequently in the adventures after leaving Tyre, where Clinias plays the role of optimist to Clitophon's pessimist; we get a foretaste of this theme at 1.9.1–2, where Clinias dismisses as nonsense (ληρεῖς, 1.9.2) Clitophon's self-indulgent bewailing of his lot (see also 1.3.2n.). There are, however, genuinely 'tragic' moments, particularly the paired episodes in which Charicles (1.10–12: see below) and Menelaus' beloved die (2.33–4). It is at first sight tempting to distinguish between the tragic 'homosexual' relationships and the happy ending of the 'heterosexual' romance, but the tragic notes sounded by Clitophon in the frame, hinting at a dark fate for Leucippe in the aftermath of the romance, blur any such sharp distinction (below, Section 6(a)).

Specific allusion to the dramatists is relatively sparse, except in certain clusters. The dream figure who manifests herself at the start of Clitophon's story looks like a Fury, such as Aeschylus described in his *Eumenides* (1.3.3n.). The account of the death of Charicles is larded with references to the (reported) death of Orestes in Sophocles' *Electra* and to that of Euripides' Hippolytus (1.10–12n., 1.12.4n., 1.12.6n., 1.13.2n.). The episode, indeed, is introduced in a dramatic fashion, with a character running in to report events that occur 'off-stage' (1.7.3n., 1.12.3n.); and when Charicles' body is brought in, 'a most pitiable, miserable spectacle' (θέαμα οἴκτιστον καὶ ἐλεεινόν, 1.13.2), lamentation follows. Clinias' list of corrupt and corrupting women at 1.8.4–8 is largely derived from tragedy (cf. n. *ad loc.*, and 1.8.4n.). There is one learned allusion (by Clinias) to Euripides in Books 1 and 2 (1.10.1n.).

The role of comedy is less pronounced, at least at one level: Aristophanes is quoted only once, and even that phrase may have become proverbial by Achilles' day (2.2.2n.; the comic poet is referred to by name at 8.9.1). Clitophon's comment at 1.3.3 that 'Fortune set the play in motion' (ἤρχετο τοῦ δράματος ἡ Τύχη) suggests the world of Menandrian

[105] Whitmarsh 2011: 223–32.

'New Comedy', where Tyche ('Fortune') can appear on stage as a character (see n.). Vision and visuality play a central role in this text,[106] and the language of theatrical spectatorship reinforces that connection. It is possible that some of this theatrical language is due to *L&C*'s generic kinship with mime, although the precise nature of any connection is uncertain (Section 1).

Lyric poetry is used subtly, to colour the descriptions of the psychology of erotic desire and drinking. Achilles makes particularly marked use of the Hellenistic *Anacreontea*, the tradition associated with the archaic erotic and sympotic poet Anacreon (1.4.3n., 1.6.1n., 2.1.1n., 2.1.3n.).

Arguably Achilles' most important literary model is Plato (whose philosophical influence will be discussed below, Section 6(b)); the stamp of his influence is perceived right from the start. The technique of the 'framing dialogue' enclosing a secondary narrative is borrowed from Plato (Section 4(c)), and the pleasant grove in which Clitophon tells his story unmistakeably evokes the *Phaedrus* (1.2.3n.; Phaedran markers also appear in Book 1's garden episode: see 1.15.3n., 1.15.8n., 1.16.3n.). Achilles' interest is due principally to Plato's status as a theorist of desire, both in the *Phaedrus* and in the *Symposium*. Clitophon describes his discussion with Clinias about seduction techniques as 'philosophising' (ἐφιλοσοφοῦμεν, 1.12.1), perhaps an attempt to lend a Platonic sheen to sordid Ovidian pick-up artistry. More obviously Platonic is the debate between Clitophon and Menelaus on the relative merits of male–male and female–male love that closes Book 2, a debate with a number of explicit echoes of the *Symposium* (2.35–8n.): in particular, Menelaus' arguments for 'homosexuality' draw heavily (and explicitly) on those of Plato's Pausanias (2.35–8n., 2.36.2n., 2.36.3n.). There are other, passing Platonic allusions (1.3–4n., 1.4.4n., 1.8.7n., 1.9.4n., 1.12.3n., 1.13.4n., 1.15.6n., 2.21.1n., 2.36.3n.); and, as has been mentioned, many of the names are Platonic (Section 3(a)).

There are scattered allusions to other authors. Chief among these is the Athenian Xenophon (1.7.3n., 1.8.3n., 1.9.6n., 2.38.3n., 2.38.4n.), whose *Cyropaedia* contains the erotic tale of Pantheia and Abradatas, widely read and imitated in the Roman period (and from which Achilles draws the name of Leucippe's mother).[107] There is one reference to Demosthenes (or is it Xenophon again? See 1.6.1n.). Moschus' *Europa* is an important

[106] Morales 2004; Section 6(a).

[107] 'Who would find greater pleasure in going to bed with the most beautiful of women than in sitting up with Xenophon's story of Pantheia?' (Plut. *Mor.* 1093c). For imperial versions of the story see Philostr. *VS* 524, *Imag.* 2.9; Soterichus *BNJ* 641 T 1; Reichel 1995.

hypotext for the ecphrasis of Europa, where there are also echoes of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (1.1.2–13n.).

The significance for *L&C* of two other genres has gone largely unnoted. The first is the romance itself.[108] Achilles knows Chariton,[109] but his primary model is Xenophon of Ephesus, to whom he alludes frequently.[110] His intertextual strategy is absorbent rather than competitive: unlike Heliodorus, who alludes to Xenophon of Ephesus primarily to mark by contrast his own sophistication,[111] Achilles uses allusion to his romance predecessors as a means primarily of indicating his shared generic affiliation. The dream at *A&H* 1.12.4, for example, is borrowed and significantly developed at *L&C* 1.3.4 (see n.). Books 1 and 2 are ringed by two tragic 'homosexual' narratives: Clinias and Charicles (1.7–14), and Menelaus and his unnamed beloved (2.34). Each of these alludes to Xenophon of Ephesus' story of Hippothous and Hyperanthes, the only significant 'homosexual' tale in either of Achilles' predecessors (1.7.1n., 2.34.1n., 2.34.5n.). Achilles is apparently keen to locate his major narrative innovation – homodiegesis – in relation to precedent, and thus within the genre. When the frame-narrator meets Clitophon, he urges him, 'Do not shrink back! (μὴ κατοκνήσῃς) 'Do not hold back! You will please me all the more if your story does indeed resemble myth' (1.2.2); this alludes to Chariton 8.7.3–4, where Chaereas is said to be hesitant (ὤκνει) to tell his story to the people of Syracuse, and is urged on by Hermocrates: 'Do not be embarrassed!' (μηδὲν αἰδεσθῆις). Achilles signals his innovation within the genre by locating and echoing the only point in the romance corpus where a male protagonist tells his own story.

The question of the relationship between Achilles and Longus is vexed by the issue of relative dating. The similarities between the two romances are evident. Like Achilles, Longus opens with an ecphrasis of a painting described by a visitor to the locale (a hunter who finds a rural shrine of the Nymphs on Lesbos).[112] Some of the language used to describe the meadow in which Longus' shrine and picture are located is found in Achilles' frame-narrator's description of the meadow in the painting (1.1.5n., 1.1.7–8n.). At the end of Book 1 of *D&C*, a metamorphosis story is told (that of Phatta, the ring-dove); at the end of Book 1 of *L&C*, Clitophon gives a series of anthropomorphising discourses on desire in

[108] See further Whitmarsh 2018b.

[109] 1.2.2n., 1.6.4n., 1.14.2n., 2.17.3n., 2.34.6n., 2.36.4n. See also de Temmerman 2014: 191–3 on A.'s (or Clitophon's) use of *Call.* in later episodes.

[110] 1.3.1n., 1.3.4n., 1.4.3n., 1.4.4n., 1.7.1n., 2.4–5n., 2.13.1n., 2.18.5n., 2.34.1n., 2.34.5n.

[111] Whitmarsh 2011: 117.

[112] E.g. Hunter 1983: 38–40.

the natural world. In both romances, the second book opens with a vintage festival in honour of Dionysus (2.2–3n.).[113] There is no secure way, however, of dating Longus, and therefore no way of determining which text alludes to the other (although the inclination of many – which I share – would be to take Longus as the later of the two).

The final category of allusion is another controversial one.[114] In a number of passages in Books 1 and 2, Achilles seems to echo the Latin elegiac poets, particularly Ovid. Some of the parallels are situational: the story of Apollo and Daphne at 1.5.5 seems to derive from Ovid, *Met.* 1.416–566 (1.5.5n.); the advice supplied by Clinias at 1.9–10 mirrors and partly overlaps with that of Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*; also Ovidian is the cup-switching trick at 2.9.1 (see n.); the attempt to gain access to Leucippe's bedroom has echoes of the elegiac tradition of lovers grappling with locked doors (2.19–25n., 1.9.2n.). There are a couple of more precise verbal parallels with Propertius' *Monobiblos*. At 1.7.3 Clitophon acknowledges that he has paid the penalty to Clinias for his mockery of him, by becoming a slave of Eros: this is close to Prop. 1.9.1–2 (1.7.3n.). Clitophon's 'Eros and Dionysus, two forceful gods' at 2.3.3 appears to allude to Prop. 1.3.14 (*hac Amor hac Liber, durus uterque deus*; 2.3.3n.).

It is possible, as ever, that the similarities can be explained by shared sources, but for at least two reasons it is attractive to think that Achilles is alluding directly to Propertius and Ovid. First, Achilles may have been a Roman citizen (Section 1): this would increase the chances that he knew Latin. Second, it makes good sense to think of elegy as part of the literary texture of Books 1 and 2. Achilles' opening is, as we have seen, substantially different from Chariton's and Xenophon of Ephesus': it is more extended, more personal, more psychological, more familial. It seems likely that Achilles found in Latin elegy the best model for the effect he was trying to create, one of complex, conflicted, tense eroticism played out in the shadows. Leucippe and Clitophon's discreet flirtation under the watchful eyes of their parents has much in common with the elegists' accounts of dangerous affairs conducted under the eyes of jealous partners and spouses.

Achilles uses allusion to thicken and deepen the literary texture of individual episodes, and to create an impression of romance as a compendious, kaleidoscopic genre that can incorporate numerous others. At 1.15.5, Clitophon speaks of the garden of Hippias' house: 'the flowers had a variegated (*poikilos*) colour scheme, and collectively displayed their

[113] See also 2.6–8n., 2.8.3n.

[114] See Brethes 2017. Jolowicz 2020 will offer a comprehensive treatment of the topic.

individual beauty' (τὰ . . . ἄνθη ποικίλην ἔχοντα τὴν χροιὰν ἐν μέρει συνεξέφαινε τὸ κάλλος). This might be taken as a self-reflexive emblem of *L&C*'s own aesthetic of *poikilia* ('variety'), an aesthetic that Achilles shares with the genre of the miscellany, popular in his day (cf. Aelian's *Varied History*, Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* etc.).[115] In this connection, it is interesting to recall the *Suda*'s claim that Achilles wrote a *Miscellaneous History*, allegedly in the same style as the romance (Section 1).

(b) Rhetoric

Achilles wrote in a culture in which training in rhetorical declamation was the primary form of higher education; a facility with rhetoric was thus the primary means of marking class distinction.[116] Achilles' protagonists, among them the frame-narrator, Leucippe, Clitophon and Clinias, are of the educated class, and indicate this by displaying their literary and oratorical prowess. A number of the speeches in Book 1 resemble formal rhetorical genres. The frame-narrator refers to Clitophon's impending narration as an ἀκρόασις or 'performance' (1.2.2), a term that suggests that he is anticipating a form of virtuoso declamation. Clinias' misogynist speech at 1.8.1–9, built around a series of mythological *exempla*, is marked as an instance of λοιδορία, or 'abuse' (1.8.1); elsewhere, Clitophon suggests that Clinias regularly speaks κατὰ γυναικῶν, 'in condemnation of women' (2.35.2), a phrase that suggests the title of an oratorical work. Clitophon describes the paired laments at 1.13–14 as a ἄμιλλα or 'contest' of θρῆνοι ('dirges', 1.14.1); the competitive metaphor (however tactless and inappropriate it may be) suggests the world of display oratory. Clitophon's natural-historical disquisitions at 1.16–18 – which borrow heavily from the rhetorical genre of the epithalamium (1.17–19n.)[117] – are once again referred to as an ἀκρόασις (1.19.1; cf. 1.2.2). Book 2 contains fewer rhetorical performances, but the fables (μῦθοι) at 2.21–2 might be used in oratory, Pantheia's lament over Leucippe's supposed loss of virginity has a rhetorical tinge (2.24), and the erotic debate that ends the book, while it looks to a philosophical precedent (Plato's *Symposium*), is clearly rhetorical to the extent that each speaker attempts to win the day through persuasion. Clitophon introduces the debate with a 'speech pertaining to erotic entertainment' (2.35.1).

Clitophon's style of speech is characterised by *sententiae*, generalising statements that associate the present situation with a universal truth or

[115] For lists of such works see Gell. *NA pr.* 5–9; Clem. *Strom.* 6.2.1.

[116] See e.g. Schmitz 1997. On rhetoric in *L&C* see esp. Marinčič 2007 and Brethes 2007: 223–9.

[117] See further Miguélez Cavero 2010.

tendency.[118] Near the very start of his story, for example, he opines (in the context of a prophetic dream that he experienced) that 'the god (τὸ δαιμόνιον) often loves to tell mortals of the future by night, not so that they may avoid experiencing the events (for it is not possible to master fate) but so that they may bear the experience more lightly (etc.)'. These passages often carry a philosophical (as here), medical or scientific flavour. Their tone is hard to gauge. The Byzantine readers who excerpted them (Section 2(b)) clearly found them sources of profitable wisdom. Yet they have often struck modern readers as comically overwrought. The mixing of metaphors is a common feature: thus for example foreknowledge 'dissipates in advance the emotional peak' (1.3.3); the eye is a 'route for the erotic wound' (1.4.4); 'the wound has flowed down into my heart' (2.7.6). It is hard not to conclude that Achilles is gently poking fun at his pretentious, would-be erudite narrator.

Clitophon shows an orator's interest in theorising the causes and effects of language. He tells his stories to Leucippe in order to try to render her 'amenable to love' (1.16.1); he discourses on the power of language to create shame and remove grief (2.29.3–4); he initiates the erotic debate in order to 'distract Clinias and Menelaus from their grief' (2.35.1, with n.). Language, on this model, is not just descriptive but efficacious (like Leucippe's healing spell at 2.7.2). In what looks like a programmatic statement, Clitophon comments (apropos of kissing) that the mouth is the body's most beautiful organ, 'for the mouth is the organ of speech, and speech is the reflection of the soul' (2.8.2). Elsewhere, he points to the capacity of language and gesture to convey thoughts more indirectly, through insinuation and subtext (1.10.3–4, 1.19.1, 2.21.5): this mode of communication is required either when the content is socially subversive (i.e. illicit eroticism: see Section 6(a)) or the speakers lack the social status to express themselves freely (i.e. they are slaves: see Section 6(c)).

Like other 'sophistic' writers, Achilles displays a marked interest in paradox and the unexpected. This can come in two forms. First, Achilles incorporates reports of wonders and marvels, of the kind that populate the handbooks of Hellenistic and imperial writers such as Antigonus Carystus and Apollonius the paradoxographer: the erotic discourses that Clitophon delivers to Leucippe at 1.15–18 are of this form, as is the bizarre catalogue of the general Chaerephon at 2.14.6–10. The second, subtler kind of paradox consists in the assimilation of polar opposites and the blurring of boundaries: Achilles is particularly interested

[118] 1.2.1, 1.3.2–3, 1.4.4, 1.5.6, 2.4.1, 2.8.2, 2.13.1, 2.23.4, 2.25.2, 2.29.1, 2.29.4, 2.36.1. See Morales 2000, focusing upon the gendered implications of such passages.

in land and sea. The picture of Europa is thematically doubled, between land and sea (γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάσσης, 1.1.2; ἐν τῆι γῆι . . . ἐν τῆι θαλάττηι, 1.1.3; τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν γῆν . . . τὸ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, 1.1.8); and the bull (a land animal) swimming out to sea is a neat visualisation of the blurring of the two spaces into one. Clitophon's discussion of the eel and the viper similarly revels in the paradox of a romance between land and sea creatures (1.18.3–5, and esp. 1.18.5n.). Later, in Book 4, Clitophon will speak in similar terms of the after-effects of a flood: 'A novel (καινά) kind of ill-fortune, this: such a terrible shipwreck, with not a ship in sight. Two extraordinary novelties (καινὰ καὶ παράλογα): an infantry-battle in the water, and a shipwreck on land!' (4.14.8). This passage makes it amply clear how a sophistic writer celebrates the collapsing of boundaries as an aesthetically innovative act (and parallels can be found in contemporary sophists).[119]

Also sophistic is the combination of different 'genres' within the single narrative framework (in line with the aspiration to *poikilia* noted at the end of Section 4(a)). The internal genres of *L&C* Books 1 and 2 might be described as follows (with some passages, naturally, belonging to more than one category):[120]

1) 'Pure' narrative, in the sense of sequences of events and actions located in time and space. This is the primary genre of *L&C* and of most narrative forms.
2) Description, i.e. a narrative pause to describe in detail features of the natural or cultural world (usually in the imperfect or present tenses): 1.1.3–13, 1.4.2–3, 1.15, 2.3, 2.11.2–4, 2.15, 2.32.
3) Dialogue, whether internal or external (1.2, 1.7–11, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6–7, 2.23.1–3, 2.25, 2.26–7, 2.28).
4) Prophetic dreams, omens and oracles: 1.3.4, 2.11.1, 2.12.2, 2.14.1, 2.23.4–5.
5) Descriptions of psychological states: 1.6.2–5, 2.29.
6) 'Messenger speech' by a minor character: 1.12.
7) *Sententiae* (generalisations): see above, and n. 118.
8) Musical interludes: 1.5.4–5 and 2.1.
9) Lamentation: 1.13.2–14.3 and 2.24.
10) Myth and fable: 2.2–6 and 2.21–2.
11) Learned disquisition: 1.16–18, 2.14.2–10, 2.35–8.
12) Letter: 1.3.6.

[119] Cf. Polemo A.36 Reader; Hadrian of Tyre pp. 45–6 Hinck.
[120] I adapt my categorisation from Novikov 2014: 76–107.

Achilles' most striking technical innovation, at the rhetorical level, is the opening ecphrasis of a picture of the abduction of Europa said to be found in the temple of Astarte in Sidon. This was influential in antiquity.[121] If *D&C* is later than *L&C* then its opening ecphrasis will be the earliest imitation. The instrumental role of the painting of Andromeda at the start of the story of Heliodorus' *Ch&Th* (i.e. in making Charicleia's skin white) – but not at the start of the narrative itself – has rightly been considered an oblique allusion.[122] Nonnus, the pioneering epic poet of late antiquity, begins his massive epic *Dionysiaca* with a description of Europa's abduction that very clearly alludes to A. (Section 2(b)). Achilles probably took his cue from the end of Xenophon of Ephesus' *A&H*, where the lovers deposit a γραφή (painting? inscription?) recording the events of the narrative in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Xenophon of Ephesus 5.15.2). For the setting of the painting within the temple, Achilles drew upon the *Tablet* of pseudo-Cebes, an allegorical description of a diagrammatic painting, which was popular in Achilles' age (1.1.2n.).[123]

An ecphrasis is, strictly, any vivid description that seeks to place the scene described before the reader's eyes (such as that of the festival at 2.15);[124] the term is, however, often used in contemporary scholarship to refer narrowly to the transcription into textual form of a material artefact, such as the account of Achilles' shield in the *Iliad* or of the paintings on the temple of Juno in the *Aeneid*. The ability to translate from the visual register to the verbal was prized in Achilles' day: Lucian, for example, makes frequent use of this technique (most notably in *De domo*, *Hippias* and *Calumnia*). Achilles returns to the description of artworks in Book 2, with the accounts of Hippias' cup (2.3) and Calligone's necklace and dress (2.11.2–4); he also reprises aspects of the Europa ecphrasis in the descriptions of Leucippe (1.4.2–3), where Leucippe is directly compared to Europa (or, depending on the reading one adopts, Selene), and in the ecphrasis of the garden (1.15), aspects of which directly recall the meadow in the painting (1.15–19n.).

An ecphrasis of a painting brings together two different mimetic forms, the narrative and the visual-artistic. These have different qualities, specialities and restrictions: narrative can represent time and change, but it relies on the power of the imagination to make events seem real; art, by contrast, appeals directly to the senses (particularly sight), but it does so by creating an illusion of reality; and, what is more, it cannot depict temporality, except by proxy. An effective ecphrasis exploits both modes to

[121] For recent discussions see Reeves 2007; Möllendorff 2009; Behmenburg 2010.
[122] Bartsch 1989: 48.
[123] Cf. Luc. *De merc. cond.* 42; *Rhet. praec.* 6.
[124] Webb 2009.

create a paradoxical hybrid. Achilles signals this interplay by varying his descriptive mode between the technical (i.e. distanced description of the painter's techniques, often using the pluperfect tense) and the immersive (i.e. imagining that the events are really happening, often using the imperfect). At one striking point he describes the presentation of the Erotes on the picture, using the device of an 'anonymous witness'[125] (not uncommon in epic and sophistic ecphrasis): 'you would have said that their very movements had been depicted' (1.1.13n.). This sentence nicely captures the tensions between realism and artificiality, between the fluency of 'movements' and the fixity of two-dimensional art ('depicted').

Achilles is interested generally in the question as to how different media can affect representation. The Europa ecphrasis is mirrored at the start of Book 2 by Clitophon's account of a pair of songs sung by Leucippe. Clitophon speaks here explicitly about the process of conversion from song to written text: 'If one were to strip out the undulations of the melody and tell the story prosaically, without the harmony . . .' (2.1.2). In a related but different register, Clitophon speaks suggestively of the reflection of Hippias' garden in the pond: 'The water offered a mirror to the flowers, so that the grove seemed to be double: part reality, part reflection.' The illusionistic language, drawn from Plato (1.15.6n.), has been taken to suggest that Achilles is self-reflexively promoting an aesthetics of illusion for his romance as a whole,[126] but it also points to the central role of *mediation* in *L&C*. Nothing is accessed 'directly', as in Chariton's *Call.* and Xenophon of Ephesus' *A&H*, where the 'omniscient narrator' purports to give an authoritative account: we are always dependent upon Clitophon for our information, and indeed on the frame-narrator's transmission of Clitophon's words. Like Clitophon in the garden, we see double: both the events of the romance and the medium that reflects it.

This mediated quality is captured at the verbal level by a distinctively Achillean form of expression that I call the 'syzygic affirmation': 'syzygic' because it yokes together two different realms of existence, and 'affirmation' because it is characteristically built around an affirmation that 'this is' the case. An early example comes at 1.1.12, during the Europa ecphrasis: here we read that Europa's robe was bulging, 'and this was the painter's wind' (καὶ ἦν οὗτος ἄνεμος τοῦ ζωγράφου). In this instance, the syzygy brings together representation (the artwork) and reality (the wind, which cannot be depicted directly on a painting). The affirmative nature of the

[125] De Jong, Nünlist and Bowie 2004, index 'Narratorial Devices, Anonymous Witness'. For other examples in *L&C* see Morgan 2004: 495–6.

[126] Mignogna 1995.

sentence seems to mean more than just 'this was the painter's way of representing wind': it means 'from the painter's point of view, this *was* wind'.

Syzygic affirmations collapse boundaries, by insisting on the identity of phenomena that would normally be kept apart. At 1.5.3, Clitophon explains how he gazed at Leucippe during their first meal together, and 'this was my dinner' (τοῦτο . . . μου τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν, 1.5.3). This is not merely a metaphor or a simile: from his love-sick perspective, the sight of his beloved *is* enough sustenance. In particular, Achilles uses syzygic affirmations to explore the boundaries between humans, animals, plants and minerals (Section 5(b)). Of the peacock he comments, 'there was a bloom of wings' (ἦν ἄνθη πτερῶν, 1.15.8) and, 'there is an eye on his plumage' (ἔστιν ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν τῶι πτερῶι, 1.16.3); of the attraction between the magnet and iron he speculates, 'Is this not a kiss between the love-struck magnet and the beloved iron?' (μή τι τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐρώσης λίθου καὶ ἐρωμένου σιδήρου φίλημα; 1.17.2); on the artificial fertilisation of the date-palm he comments, 'this is a wedding of the plants' (τοῦτό ἐστι γάμος φυτῶν, 1.17.5); and of the trinkets brought by the river Alpheus to the spring Arethusa he observes, 'these are the bride-price of a river' (ταῦτά ἐστιν ἕδνα ποταμοῦ, 1.18.2).[127] In each case, the syzygy attributes actions or intentions usually restricted to one area of existence to another one, and the affirmation insists on the reality of the assimilation. Plants really do 'marry'; magnets really do 'kiss'. But syzygies always represent a non-standard perspective on the world: they are usually focalised by Clitophon, and result from his seeing the world in purely erotic terms. The collapsing of boundaries between different realms is thus primarily one of the psychological effects of love, and another sign of the mediated nature of Clitophon's narration. To enter into Clitophon's narrative universe is to see continuity between the natural and the human realms, where others would see boundaries.

The stylistic texture of *L&C* is heavily rhetorical too, and characterised by alliteration, anaphora, brachylogy, metaphor, paradox, polyptoton and other features.[128] As in other ambitious prose stylists, hiatus is generally (albeit not universally) avoided.[129] We also find the heavy use of asyndeton and ellipsis, particularly in descriptive passages; rhetorical questions; and a tendency to shift tonal register (from high to low and vice versa) and speech genre (e.g. from narrative to *sententia*).[130] Word-play and punning are fairly common (1.2.2n., 1.3.4n., 1.4.5n., 1.7.5n., 1.17.5n., 2.22.3n.,

[127] For other syzygic affirmations see 1.15.4, 1.15.5, 1.19.1, 2.2.5, 2.2.6, 2.11.3, 2.14.3, 2.14.7, 2.14.9, 2.15.2.
[128] Soler 2010.
[129] Reeve 1971: 521–5.
[130] Novikov 2014: 123–8.

2.23.3n., 2.37.10n.). Achilles' style – particularly in his purple passages – is characterised by balanced cola, rhyme and rhythm;[131] and his poetic passages have a distinctive form, often involving short sentences with ellipsis of the verb 'to be' and variation in word order: this mode is used in the descriptive passages at 1.1.1, 1.1.2–3, 1.15.2–8, 2.11.2–3 and 2.15.2. Longus' *D&C* has similar passages (*pr.* 2, 1.1.2, 1.4.2 etc.). These features collectively ally Achilles with the style that scholars sometimes call 'Asianic' or (better) 'Gorgianic' (after the celebrated Sicilian orator of the fifth century BCE). The Gorgianic style aimed at a musical, prose-poetic effect, adopting rhythms, rhymes and repetitions.[132]

The opening of the ecphrasis of Europa offers an excellent example:

> Εὐρώπης ἡ γραφή· Φοινίκων ἡ θάλασσα· Σιδῶνος ἡ γῆ. ἐν τῇι γῆι λειμὼν καὶ χορὸς παρθένων· ἐν τῇι θαλάττηι ταῦρος ἐπενήχετο, καὶ τοῖς νώτοις καλὴ παρθένος ἐπεκάθητο, ἐπὶ Κρήτην τῶι ταύρωι πλέουσα.
>
> The painting (was) of Europa; the sea of the Phoenicians; the land of Sidon. On the land: a meadow and a chorus of girls; in the sea a bull was swimming, and a beautiful girl was seated on its back, sailing towards Crete with the bull.

This striking description has been well analysed in terms of the stylistic trend towards prose poetry.[133] The cola can be arranged in the (approximate) form of poetry, with recognisable rhythmic and phonetic patterns.[134] Greek prose was felt to be 'rhythmic' if the ending of the sentence (or *clausula*) followed one of the following patterns:[135]

a. – ⏑ – – ⏑ –
b. – – – – ⏑ –
c. – ⏑ – –
d. – ⏑ – – –
e. – ⏑ – ⏑ –
f. – ⏑ – – – ⏑ –
g. – – – –

It will be seen that the cretic (– ⏑ –) is the heart of Greek prose rhythm: only pattern g (which is anomalous and disputed) is not built around it.

[131] See esp. Laplace 2007: 365–410; Kim 2017: 54–60.
[132] Norden 1898: 1.367–91.
[133] Kim 2017: 55 and *passim*. Billault 1995 extends the concept of Asianism to cover the 'esthétique' of the romances.
[134] See also the analysis of *D&C*'s rhythms at Hunter 1983: 84–98.
[135] See Hutchinson 2015: 789–90, 2018: 11–12. The resolution of a heavy syllable into two lights is permitted (except in the final syllable, where a single light syllable may substitute for a heavy, i.e. *brevis in longo*).

The first five cola of *L&C*, discussed above, can be analysed metrically as follows:

1)	– – – – ⏑ –	pattern b
	Εὐρώπης ἡ γραφή·	
2)	– – – – ⏑ – ⏑	pattern c (*brevis in longo*)
	Φοινίκων ἡ θάλασσα·	
3)	– – ⏑ – –	pattern c
	Σιδῶνος ἡ γῆ.	
4)	– – – – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –	pattern a
	ἐν τῆι γῆι λειμὼν καὶ χορὸς παρθένων·	
5)	– – ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑	pattern a (resolved + *brevis in longo*)
	ἐν τῆι θαλάττηι ταῦρος ἐπενήχετο . . .	

Each of these five cola, therefore, is rhythmic. In addition to the metrical patterns, striking stylistic features include the parallel structure of the first three cola (genitive followed by article + feminine, nominative noun, with ellipsis of the verb 'to be'); repetition of ἐν τῆι and forms of θάλασσα / θάλαττα, παρθένος and ταῦρος; the (near-)homoioteleuton of ταῦρ**ος** ἐπενήχ**ετο** and παρθέν**ος** ἐπεκάθ**ητο**. The artful design of this sentence thus replicates the technical skill of the painting itself.[136] At the same time, the brevity and clarity of the sentences allies Achilles loosely with the tradition known as ἀφέλεια or 'simplicity', which ancient critics traced back to the fourth-century orator Lysias.

The issue of 'prose poetry' is directly raised at 2.1.2, where Clitophon paraphrases Leucippe's song in prose (cf. 1.13.5n. on the lament for Charicles). The paraphrase once again reflects Achilles' preference in such passages for short, balanced, rhythmic cola packed with phonetic effects, particularly homoioteleuton (marked in bold):

1)	– – ⏑ – –	pattern c
	γῆς ἐστι κόσμ**ος**,	
2)	⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑	pattern c (*brevis in longo*)
	φυτ**ῶν** ἀγλάϊσ**μα**,	
3)	– – ⏑ – ⏑ –	pattern e
	ὀφθαλμ**ὸς** ἀνθέ**ων**,	
4)	– – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑	pattern c (resolved + *brevis in longo*)
	λειμῶν**ος** ἐρύθη**μα**,	
5)	– ⏑ – – ⏑	pattern d (*brevis in longo*)
	κάλλ**ος** ἀστράπτον·	

[136] For other Gorgianic passages see 1.4.5, 1.8.4–8, 2.4.4 with nn.

6)	⏑ – – ⏑–	pattern a (without initial syllable)
	ἔρωτ**ος** πνέ**ει**,	
7)	– ⏑ – – – ⏑ –	pattern f
	Ἀφροδίτην προξεν**εῖ**,	
8)	– – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ –	pattern b (resolved)
	εὐώδεσι φύλλ**οις** κομ**ᾶι**,	
9)	– – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	pattern b (resolved)
	εὐκινήτ**οις** πετάλ**οις** τρυφ**ᾶι**	
10)	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –	pattern b (resolved)
	τὸ πέταλον τῶι Ζεφύρωι γελ**ᾶι.**	

In a passage explicitly marked as prose-poetic, Achilles once again uses traditionally 'poetic' clausulae. Three of the first four cola end with versions of pattern c, while each of the final three cola ends with a version of pattern b. Other rhythmic effects are perceptible if one discounts resolution. Six of the ten cola end in the cretics so favoured by rhythmic prose; two of the remaining ones end in amphibrachs (⏑ – ⏑), i.e. inverted cretics. The *clausulae* of cola 1 and 2 (with *brevis in longo*) are identical, as are those of cola 9 and 10.

Alongside this inventive approach to rhythm, we can note once again the distinctively Achillean prose-poetic style, showcasing short, often verbless, phonetically repetitive sentences. Achilles' poetic passages, therefore, are best read as the result of a deliberate attempt to use traditional techniques in the service of an innovative prose-poetic style.

(c) Narrative

L&C follows the romance template laid down by Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus: the plot focuses on a young couple who travel from their homeland, experience and survive dangers and rivals, and return home to marry (or, in the cases of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus, to reestablish their marriage). Such plots have been well analysed in terms of the folkloric motifs identified by Vladimir Propp: narrative tension is generated by the alternation between moments of peril and of serendipity, and by the interaction of hostile and supportive characters.[137]

L&C is a homodiegetic ('first-person') narrative, or strictly one homodiegetic narrative (Clitophon's) embedded within another (the

[137] Ruiz Montero 1988: 217–46.

frame-narrator's).[138] As we have seen (Section 4(a)), Achilles builds the idea of Clitophon as a homodiegetic narrator on the foundations laid by Chariton (who has Chaereas tell his own story at the end of *Call.*) and Xenophon of Ephesus (who includes a flashback story by Hippothous). Homodiegesis imposes certain restrictions on the narrative – strictly speaking, the narrator should narrate only what it is plausible for her or him to know – but in Achilles' skilful hands this limitation becomes a resource. In particular, as we have seen (Section 3(a)), readers are left continually wondering whether Leucippe truly reciprocates Clitophon's feelings in the way that he imagines her to do. Similarly, Clitophon's lack of interest in the burial of Charicles (1.15.1n.) brings it home that Clinias would have told this story in a very different way. Our awareness of Clitophon's limited, partial perspective encourages us to read him ironically as a narrator and to scan the text for gaps and traces of other perspectives. What is more, the characterisation of Clitophon as intermittently bombastic, pretentious and myopic (Section 3(a)) means that readers often sense the presence of the 'hidden author' undermining and ironising his perspective.[139]

In Books 1 and 2, the restricted focalisation is rarely sacrificed.[140] At 2.13–15 and 2.17–18, there is a sudden scene-shift to Byzantium, coupled with an analepsis (i.e. a temporary flashback, which catches up with the 'real time' of Clitophon's narrative at 2.15.1). This episode is necessary to explain who Callisthenes was, and how he came to abduct Calligone by accident. Clitophon never explains how he found out the details of Callisthenes' plot, although we may guess that he finds out later from Leucippe's father Sostratus, who updates him on 'his (Callisthenes') actions in relation to Calligone' (8.18.1). The second occasion is at 2.23.5–2.25, where Pantheia confronts Leucippe and Clio in private.[141] Again, it is no great stretch of the imagination to assume that this is part of the information supplied by the fugitive Clio at 2.26.2. At 2.28–9 Pantheia again confronts Leucippe; Leucippe grieves alone afterwards. Perhaps Leucippe told him about this later. The fact that Clitophon includes a very

[138] On narratological aspects of *L&C* see Hägg 1971; Morgan 2004, 2007; Whitmarsh 2011; de Temmerman 2012; Novikov 2014.

[139] Whitmarsh 2003; Morgan 2007.

[140] 'In the complex intrigue of the second half of the novel, however, Clitophon behaves more and more like an omniscient narrator' (Morgan 2004: 499). See also Hägg 1971: 129–34, 137.

[141] It might be said that 2.20–2 (Satyrus' dealings with Conops) also takes place beyond Clitophon's immediate sight. Since the whole scenario is part of a conspiratorial plot, however, it is not felt as a disruption of the character-focalisation: we presume that Satyrus is reporting back to Clitophon almost instantaneously.

characteristically Clitophontic account of the turbulent emotions experienced by Leucippe (2.29), however, may lead the reader to suspect that Clitophon has engaged in some free invention or embellishment.

By and large Clitophon's narrative follows a linear temporal path from beginning to end, with none of the flamboyant flashbacks that characterise e.g. Heliodorus' *Ch&Th*. The story begins in the late summer (perhaps August: 2.3.1n.), and closes in the subsequent winter (8.19.3). The narrative of Books 1 and 2, at least that in which Clitophon is a participant, is divided into sequential 'day-and-night phases'.[142] Scene shifts are marked by allusions to temporal sequence: thus, for example, Clitophon's visit to the garden to see Leucippe is introduced by the phrase 'after the funeral' (1.15.1); Leucippe leaves the garden 'after a short time' (1.19.1) to go to her room for the performance that opens Book 2; the shift from dinner to Clitophon's attempt to approach Leucippe in the garden is marked by 'after the dinner'; the transition to the planning for the wedding of Clitophon and Calligone is indicated by 'after an interval of a few days' (2.11.1; cf. 2.19.1, 2.23.1, 2.30.2).

Clitophon's narration is, in general, temporally restricted in terms of the delivery of information, i.e. he rarely (at least in Books 1 and 2) introduces material that he could not have known as an agent at the time.[143] This technique is important for the creation of suspense, for example in the episode set in Leucippe's bedroom: in this case, the reader is left wondering until the very last minute whether Leucippe and Clitophon will successfully consummate their relationship outside marriage (and thus subvert the protocols of the romance entirely). Again there are exceptions. At 1.8.11, Charicles leaves, 'destined to ride for the last, as well as the first, time'. This ominous prolepsis fits the tragic tone of the entire episode (1.8.11n.).[144] At 1.3.2 we encounter a more explicit prolepsis: Clitophon tells us that Hippias intended to marry him to Calligone, but the Fates 'were keeping another wife in store for me'. As a result of this intervention, we know right from the start of Clitophon's story that he will not marry his half-sister, and there is a strong implication that Leucippe is the Fates' 'other wife'. This episode is rendered more complex by the appearance (in the 'real time' of the narrative) of a proleptic dream: Calligone and Clitophon seem to be joined at the waist, when a monstrous figure cleaves them apart (1.3.4). As readers, then, we know not only that Clitophon will not marry Calligone, but also that at the time he had a clue that this would be the case (but not whether he fully understood that this

[142] Hägg 1971: 68–73.
[143] Hägg 1971: 127–32.
[144] On prolepsis see Hägg 1971: 234–7.

is what the dream signified). Another prolepsis, again in connection with a predictive event (an omen), occurs at 2.12.3 (see n.). Analepsis ('flashback') and scene-shift are rare and unobtrusive, and exist to supply information needed for the main narrative: at 2.7.1–3 Clitophon recounts analeptically an event that occurred during the day, so as to explain his subterfuge. The most significant instance comes at 2.13.1–18.5, the introduction of Callisthenes, discussed above: this involves a shift not just backwards in time but also in space, initially to Byzantium.

The question of mediation is raised right at the start (Section 4(b)). Every artistic ecphrasis raises questions of focalisation: how much of the description reflects the eye of the narrator, and how much is 'there' in the painting itself? In this instance, narratorial focalisation is particularly emphasised in similes comparing Europa to a charioteer (ὥσπερ ἡνίοχος, 1.1.10) and to a sailor (δίκην . . . πλεούσης νηός . . . ὥσπερ ἱστίωι, 1.1.12; cf. πλέουσα, 1.1.2), for a simile inevitably reflects an individual's judgement of resemblance. At certain points the narrator 'overinterprets' the painting, supplying his own interpretations of the intentions or emotions experienced by the characters depicted: the expressions of Europa's companions are 'as if' (ὥσπερ) they are about to emit a sound (1.1.7); 'they seemed' (ἐώικεσαν) to show a mixture of desire and fear (1.1.8), Eros turns to Zeus 'as if' (ὥσπερ) mocking him (1.1.13). Such phrases draw attention to the cognitive processes involved in viewers' attempts to make sense of a painting, and to transform the two-dimensional image into a version of lived reality.

L&C does not have the narrative complexity of Antonius Diogenes' *Wonders beyond Thule* or Heliodorus' *Ch&Th*, both of which have multiply embedded layers of narration: in fact, the frame-narrator's presence is barely felt after the opening frame.[145] Its narrative innovation is, rather, the embedded homodiegesis, a device that seems designed to recall Plato's *Symposium* (where Apollodorus in an outer frame promises to report what Aristodemus told him about events). There are also strong echoes of the famous topographical description of the grove by the Ilissos in Plato's *Phaedrus* (1.2.3n.); this, coupled with Clitophon's name (Section 3(c)), gives the opening an unmistakeably Platonic flavour. There is, however, no exact Platonic parallel for the narrative scenario in *L&C* (a chance meeting between a primary narrator and a second figure, who proceeds to tell a story).

[145] Schmid-Dümmler 2018: 77–85 distinguishes four levels of narration, but two of these come in the frame: (i) the frame-narrator's address to an unspecified narratee/reader; (ii) Clitophon's address to the frame-narrator; (iii) Clitophon's narration of the story 'proper'; (iv) Clitophon's reporting of the version of events he told Sostratus at 8.5.

Ancient readers may have associated the frame narrator with Achilles himself, just as Lucius the narrator of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* was associated with Lucius Apuleius; this would make *L&C* a variety of 'fictional autobiography'.[146] At any rate, this narrator is thinly characterised. He seems to be a non-Phoenician brought ashore by shipwreck; he is apparently older than Clitophon (1.2.2n.); most significantly, he characterises himself as ἐρωτικός (1.2.1), which may mean 'in love', or perhaps 'with a theoretical interest in love' (see n.); perhaps it even suggests 'the author of an erotic novel'. His description reflects a more general erotic preoccupation on his part: Europa is described in obsessively anatomical detail, with emphasis on her navel, belly, hips, genitalia and breasts (1.1.11; see further Section 6(a)). The landscape is eroticised too: the foliage on the shore is said to 'mingle' and 'embrace' (ἀνεμέμικτο . . . συνῆπτον . . . συμπλοκή, 1.1.3; there are five distinct συν- compounds in the landscape description of 1.1.3–4). Individual elements of the description have erotic connotations: λειμών can be used of female pubes,[147] κέρας of the erect penis,[148] and ἀφρός of semen.[149]

The ecphrasis also destabilises the reading of the wider novel, by raising the issue of metalepsis, or 'frame-breaking', the phenomenon whereby narrative levels that should in principle be separate are transgressively merged (e.g. when a literary character meets her author).[150] In the case of *L&C*, the issue is that Clitophon's narration, if we are to take it as accurately reported, should be distinct from the frame-narrator's; but in fact thematic echoes and stylistic continuities blur the distinction between the two. For example, the death of Charicles, narrated by Clitophon at 1.12, contains striking reminiscences of the frame-narrator's description of Europa on the bull (1.12.4n.), and the eroticised flora and fauna of the painting in the frame are closely echoed in Clitophon's account of the garden in Hippias' house, which begins at 1.15;[151] the Europa ecphrasis is also recalled in numerous details by the ecphrasis of Perseus and Andromeda (3.6.3–3.7). Are we, then, to conclude that the frame-narrator has embellished Clitophon's account with his own erotic-rhetorical curlicues? Or that he has invented it entirely?

The frame thus raises doubts about the reliability, or at least the autonomy, of Clitophon's narrative. Odyssean echoes contribute to this

[146] Whitmarsh 2013: 67–8.
[147] Henderson 1991 (1975): 136.
[148] Henderson 1991 (1975): 127.
[149] LSJ 2, and West 1966: 213.
[150] Genette 2004; 2.15.2–4n., 2.29n.
[151] de Temmerman 2009 (cf. also 2012: 517–19); 1.15–19n.

destabilisation. In general terms, the motif of the shipwrecked stranger coming ashore, seeking sanctuary and prompting a story evokes Odysseus' arrival on Scheria[152] (although in the *Odyssey* it is the shipwrecked traveller himself, rather than the person he encounters, who tells the story). Odyssean resonances are reinforced by echoes, within the ecphrastic description, of Homer's account of Alcinous' garden (1.1.5n.). Odysseus' narrative in the *Odyssey* has long been read as fictionalising, and indeed was received in this way in antiquity.[153] For Lucian, for example, Odysseus was the 'guide and instructor in this sort of charlatanry' (i.e. fiction: *VH* 1.3). Achilles' echoes of the *Odyssey*, then, may cast further doubt in some readers' minds on the credibility of the narrative.

Finally, the frame may subvert generic protocols.[154] A romance in the mould of Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus 'should' end happily. Superficially *L&C* does too, culminating as it does with the reunion and marriage of Leucippe and Clitophon and their *rapprochement* with their families. A closer look at the text's concluding sentence, however, is revealing: Clitophon says only that they *decided* to sail from Ephesus first to Tyre and then to Byzantium, not that they succeeded in doing so (8.19.3). What happened in the novel's aftermath? In the outer frame Leucippe does not appear to be accompanying Clitophon in Sidon, and Clitophon introduces his story as a tale of woe, citing the multiple ὕβρεις he has endured at the hands of Eros (1.2.1). Multiple explanations for this apparent inconcinnity have been offered.[155] Are we to imagine that Clitophon has, like the frame-narrator, been shipwrecked by a storm during their final voyage, either from Ephesus to Tyre or from Tyre to Byzantium? Perhaps one hint in this direction is the mention of winter at the end of the narrative (cf. παραχειμάσαντες, 8.19.3): it is plausible that the frame-narrator's shipwreck in a 'storm' (χειμῶνος, 1.1.1) took place in the same bad weather. Did Leucippe, therefore, die? The text gives us no further clues. Perhaps part of the text is missing; perhaps the suggestions of a 'tale of woe' are down to the echoes of Homer's Odysseus;[156] perhaps Achilles simply forgot to explain. We shall never know for sure; but there is no reason to discount the possibility that Achilles – a master of the art of generic brinkmanship – fully intended to come suggestively close to subverting the most fundamental expectation of the romance plot: the happy ending.

[152] Most 1989: 131–2.
[153] E.g. Pl. *Rep.* 10.614b; Juv. 15.13–26; Goldhill 1991: 36–68.
[154] Fusillo 1997; Repath 2005.
[155] These are surveyed by Repath 2005, whose conclusions I follow here.
[156] Most 1989.

(d) Language

In the second century CE, the vogue for sophisticated writers of Greek was to Atticise, which is to say to imitate (sometimes exaggeratedly) the lexis and morphology of the Greek of classical Athens.[157] Xenophon, Plato and Demosthenes were particular favourite models. Achilles does Atticise; but he does so inconsistently, mixing in contemporary, Ionic and poetic forms, and some idiosyncrasies of his own.[158]

A detailed analysis of Achilles' language can be found in Sexauer 1899 (useful, though now outdated); see also the brief remarks at Vilborg 1962: 13–16.[159] Papanikolaou 1973 is helpful, although his primary focus is on Chariton. Zanetto 1990: 240–2 offers brief but useful comments. A systematic, modern study of Achilles' language against the backdrop of his contemporaries is a major *desideratum*. This section is intended not to fill that gap, but (1) to aid first-time readers of Books 1 and 2; (2) to illustrate Achilles' ambivalent relationship to contemporary Atticism; and (3) to lay out his distinctively eclectic linguistic range. 'Etc.' in this section means 'other examples are found in *L&C* Books 3 through 8'.

(i) Lexis

The Byzantine critic Michael Psellus described Achilles' style as 'highly demotic . . . he seems to write common language (ἰδιωτεύειν) for the most part, and to miss the target of Attic correctness by some distance'.[160] The judgemental tone notwithstanding, he was right: Achilles uses an apparently contrived mixture of Attic and non-Attic forms. Both -σσ- and Attic -ττ- are found throughout (indeed in the very first seven words we encounter both θαλάττηι and θάλασσα). There is, to be sure, considerable variation between the MSS, which makes it hard to pinpoint how much of this is genuinely Achillean; even so, the signs do point to inconsistency in Achilles' original text. To take just two examples: all the major MSS agree on both ἐκπλήσσει at 1.3.3 and at least the -ττ- of ὑπείλιττον at 1.6.6. We also find variation between Attic θαρρέω (2.10.3 etc.) and non-Attic θαρσέω (2.7.6, 2.25.1, 2.28.2 etc.). Achilles usually uses Ionic γίνομαι, but at 3.23.1 we meet ἐγιγνόμην. At 2.21.2 and elsewhere Achilles uses κλαίω,

[157] The fullest account remains Schmid 1887–97; for a sophisticated, recent overview of the issues see Kim 2017.
[158] Schmid 1887–97: 3.17.
[159] Naber 1876 contains some useful material.
[160] Psellus, *De Chariclea et Leucippe iudicium* = Vilborg T VI.

but later in *L&C* we find the Attic κλάω (3.20.1 etc.). ἵπταμαι (1.12.3, 2.5.2, 2.7.1, 2.12.3) for πέτομαι is rare in literary texts,[161] and mocked as non-Attic by Lucian (*Lex.* 25, *Sol.* 7; cf. Phryn. *Ecl.* 198). Achilles usually uses ὀδμή (2.15.2 *bis* etc.), but at 2.38.3 we read (Attic) ὀσμή.

There are few words in *L&C* to disorientate a reader used to classical prose, but some of the meanings and usages differ. κρατέω is used in both the classical sense 'get mastery over' (with the gen. or absolutely: 1.3.2, 1.12.5, 2.1.1, 2.34.1, 2.35.2 etc.) and the later sense 'hold' (with the acc.: 1.1.13, 1.3.4, 1.6.6, 1.11.3 (with n.) etc.; cf. modern Greek κρατώ). δίκην is used prepositionally (with the gen.) to mean 'in the manner of', a usage largely restricted to poetry in classical times (1.1.12, 1.12.4, 2.18.4 etc.). On one occasion (1.1.6), εἷς appears to be used as an indefinite article, as in modern Greek; there may be a specific literary point being made here (see n.). ὄφελον is used as a particle with the indicative to express a counterfactual wish (2.24.3 with n., etc.). *Pace* Vilborg ('a vulgarism') and others, however, μεταξύ at 1.13.1 does not mean 'afterwards' (see n.). ἄνω + gen. = 'before' (2.31.6: see n.) is striking and unusual. ἦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου ('we were done with dinner', 1.5.4), ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς κρεμάμενος ('dangling from his soul', 1.7.4), τὸ . . . νῦν ἔχον ('for now', 1.8.11), ἔχει πρός με ὡς ἐραστήν ('she treats me as her lover', 2.4.2), πλέον οὐδὲν ἦν ('nothing came of it', 2.12.2) and ὡς εἶχε ('straightaway', 2.23.5, 2.24.1) are slices of colloquial late Greek (see nn.). Hapaxes for pre-Byzantine Greek in our section are ὑπολιγαίνω (1.5.4), ὑπελίττω (1.6.6), πρωτοκύμων (1.10.1), ἀποστολιμαῖος (2.9.2), τοξοβολῶ (2.29.3, if emendation is accepted) and ὄσφρα (2.38.3).

(ii) Morphology

a) *Declension.* Achilles is inconsistent in his use of Attic declension. In respect of ναῦς, we find the Attic gen. νεώς at 1.12.4 (etc.)[162] and the Ionic νηός at 1.1.12, 2.32.2, 2.35.1. The acc. is always ναῦν (2.17.1, 2.31.5, 2.32.2 etc.). The young Egyptian met on the boat is given the name Μενέλαος, with a non-Attic declension. Attic are the nom. plur. βότρυες (2.3.2) and βόες (2.15.3) and the acc. κλεῖς (2.19.5); but classical Attic would write ἁλιέας rather than (acc.) ἁλιεῖς (2.17.3). ταώς presents an interesting case. The regular Attic declension has acc. ταών and gen. ταώ, but many later Greeks preferred ταῶνα/ταῶνος

[161] Schmid 1887–97: 3.43.
[162] Following the β tradition; α has νηός.

(already found at Arist. *HA* 559b). Achilles gives both forms, acc. ταῦνα (1.16.3) and gen. ταώ (1.16.3) / dat. ταώι (1.16.1).

Proper names in -ης receive a hybrid declension (a confusion found in Greek of all periods: Smyth §264b): thus Καλλισθένην (2.13.2 etc.)[163] but later Καλλισθένους (8.19.3) and Καλλισθένει (8.18.4).

The gen. plur. of neuter nouns in -ος is usually -έων, but at 1.10.1 we find βρεφῶν. There is, however, so much variation within the tradition (e.g. WM give ἀνθῶν at 1.15.8; Π^8 gives χειλῶν at 2.37.9) that firm conclusions are inadvisable.

The dual, a favoured marker of second-century Atticism, is used sparingly, and for nouns only of body parts, e.g. τὼ πόδε (1.1.10 etc.); elsewhere in *L&C* we find τὼ χεῖρε (3.15.2, 5.7.4) and τὼ ὀφθαλμώ (4.9.1). Achilles regularly uses ἄμφω/ἀμφοῖν together with nouns and verbs in the plur. to indicate duality periphrastically (e.g. αἱ χεῖρες ἄμφω 1.1.12; cf. 1.3.1, 2.33.3, 2.34.2 etc.).

For the neut. of τοιοῦτος we find both τοιοῦτο (2.14.1 etc.) and, more commonly, the epic and Ionic form (sometimes found in Attic prose too) τοιοῦτον (e.g. 1.9.2, 1.14.1, 2.4.5). Neut. τοσοῦτον is used throughout (2.36.1 etc.).

b) *Conjugation*. Verbs of the -νυμι class (e.g. -σβέννυμι, κεράννυμι, δείκνυμι) receive a simplified conjugation, as if they were regular -ω verbs: in Books 1 and 2 we find ἐκεράννυε (2.15.2), ἀποσβεννύουσι (2.18.4). Achilles uses ἀνοίγω rather than ἀνοίγνυμι (1.1.4, 1.1.6, 1.1.7 *et aliter*). For the aor. mid. of τίθημι he uses the Ionic ἐθηκάμην (2.3.1: if the papyrus reading is adopted).

For the pluperf., Achilles usually uses the alternative form -ειν -εις -ει etc. (1.4.4, 2.12.1, etc.; cf. Smyth §701). Augments are often omitted (ἐκπεπλήγμην, 1.4.5, πέπαυτο 2.2.1, βεβλήκει 2.31.2, etc.).

Achilles has a fondness for periphrastic verbal forms involving participles and the auxiliary verb εἰμί (*GMT* §45). In our section we find ἦν . . . ἑαλωκώς (2.16.2), ἦν . . . βεβουλευμένη (2.26.2) and ἦν κατακοιμίσας (2.31.1).

For the aor. of δύναμαι, μέλλω and βούλομαι, the double augment in the aorist (e.g. ἠδυνάμην) was thought by some to be a marker of Atticism (Moeris *Attic.* η 5 Hansen). If the MSS are to be trusted, Achilles employs this form usually for δύναμαι (1.6.2, 1.13.1, 2.21.2, 2.34.1 etc.; note however ἐδυνάμην at 2.1.1 and, in the β tradition,

[163] Π^3, however, gives Σωσθένη at 6.15.1 – a reminder that our MSS may not accurately represent A.'s original.

3.2.8), but not for μέλλω or βούλομαι.[164] Like many others, Achilles switches promiscuously between θέλω and ἐθέλω; augmented forms, however, are always ἠ- (1.4.5, 1.6.5, 1.12.6, 2.1.2, 2.13.1, 2.21.2 etc.). Sometimes Achilles omits the augment for past tenses of εὑρίσκω (2.2.4, 2.19.6, 2.31.6 etc.; contrast ηὗρε at 8.10.9), in common with some classical authors. In the case of prefixes, again like classical authors, he sometimes appends the augment to the prefix (e.g. προκατηνάλωσε, 1.3.3; ἠπείγετο, 1.13.1) or reduplicates it (ἠνείχετο, 2.7.7, etc.). Like many late (predominantly Christian) writers, Achilles gives the aor. of ἀπολαύω as ἀπήλαυσα (1.8.11, if that reading is correct).

Achilles uses a number of non-Attic verbal forms. In our books we find only the strong aorist of λέγω, but εἶπα etc. appear at 4.16.2, 5.20.2 and 7.9.6. Similarly varied is the conjugation of οἶδα, for which we find in the pres. both the Attic οἶσθα and ἴσασι (2.10.1, 2.14.9 etc.) and the Ionic οἶδας and οἴδασιν (1.9.4, 5.26.3 etc.). For ὠνέομαι Achilles has aor. ἐωνησάμην (1.14.3 etc.); Attic authors substitute ἐπριάμην. ἐμπεπετασμένη (1.1.12, from ἐμπετάννυμι) would in classical Greek be ἐμπεπταμένη.

Achilles does not use the dual form for verbs (except at 4.12.3, a near-quotation from Hom. *Od.* 18.38).

Verbs are not always contracted (περιθέει, 1.16.3; πνέει, 2.1.3; περιρέει, 2.11.5).

(iii) Other Grammatical and Syntactical Features

Achilles is fond of the pluperf. (e.g. 1.1.10, 1.1.12, 1.1.13, 1.4.4, 2.11.2, 2.16.2), which he sometimes uses in place of an aor. (2.19.2 with n., 2.19.6, 2.31.2).

The fut. part. is sometimes used without ὡς to express purpose: 2.1.1, 2.15.1, 2.30.1, 2.31.4 etc.

After verbs of knowing and perceiving, as commonly in Greek of this era,[165] the classical requirement to use the acc. and part. construction is not always respected: at times we find ὡς or ὅτι + indic. (1.18.4, 2.9.3, 2.11.7, 2.14.9, 2.26.3 etc.). οἶδα is followed by the gen. absolute at 2.8.3, if the text is correct (see n.). Because of this permissiveness, we also find descriptive participles used in object clauses after verbs of knowledge and

[164] Inconsistency of this kind is found even in mainstream Atticists: see e.g. Luc. *VH* 1.16, 2.32.

[165] Papanikolaou 1973: 141–8.

perception, e.g. ὁρῶ γραφὴν ἀνακειμένην (1.1.2, with n.; cf. 2.9.3, 2.26.2, 2.32.2, 2.35.1).

τυγχάνω is followed by the inf. at 2.30.1, a construction paralleled elsewhere in later Greek (LSJ a.II.3).

μεταξύ + part. (= 'while') normally takes the pres. tense, while ἄρτι + part. (= 'just after') normally takes the aor. Achilles, however, does not fully distinguish them: at 1.7.3 ἄρτι + pres. replaces μεταξύ; the converse is found at 1.13.1.

ἵνα + subj. (1.7.4, 1.7.5, 1.8.1, 2.28.3) or indic. (1.14.1) can be used for result clauses.

Achilles commonly (e.g. 1.6.3, 1.8.6, 1.8.8, 1.10.2, 2.4.3, 2.12.3, 2.31.6, 2.38.1) uses μή or derived forms where classical Greek would use οὐ, a conflation common in later Greek (Smyth §2689c).

There is a marked tendency to use substantivised adjectives, particularly in purple passages (e.g. τὸ μέλαν / λευκόν, 1.4.3; τὸ . . . ἁλουργές, 1.16.3; τὸ ἄφθαρτον, 2.37.1) or even participles (e.g. τὸ . . . προσδοκώμενον, 1.3.3; τὸ βομβοῦν, 2.21.4; τὸ . . . κινούμενον, 2.37.1).

A. is very fond of predicative adjectives (Smyth §1040–59), which are always brought forward in the syntax before the verb. E.g. 2.11.4: *οὐ πάρεργον* εἶχεν ἡ πορφύρα τὴν βαφήν = 'the purple carried a dye *that was not run-of-the-mill*', i.e. 'it was no run-of-the-mill purple that dyed it'. And again 2.36.1: οὐ . . . *γεγηρακυῖαν* ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν, 'the sweetness it contains *has not grown old*' (the participle functions like an adjective).

Also common are ὑπο- compounds, the prefix implying subtlety, covertness or slightness: e.g. ὑπολιγήνας, ὑποψιθυρίζουσι, 1.5.4; ὑπεσήμαινεν, 1.19.1; ὑποδακρύοντα, 2.35.1.

Locative forms are often used loosely: e.g. ἐκεῖ = ἐκεῖσε (1.4.5; cf. 2.12.3, though I have proposed deleting that sentence), ἄνωθεν = ἄνω (1.15.4), οἴκοθεν = οἴκοι (2.17.1).

Sometimes the definite article is omitted: e.g. ταῦρος (1.1.9), ὅρμος Ἐριφύλης (1.8.4), τειχίου (1.15.1) and γλυκὺν ἐραστήν (1.18.2). This seems to be a deliberate choice in pursuit of poetic effect. The article is commonly but not always found with personal names, and used inconsistently with names of towns (e.g. εἰς Τύρον, 2.14.2 / τῆς Τύρου, 2.17.1).

Adverbial καί is very common, often carrying a barely perceptible emphasis. E.g. καὶ μέτριον τὸ ἀτύχημα (*sc.* ἐστί): 'the misfortune is *in fact* not too bad' (1.8.8).

Achilles' use of ἐάν, ἄν and κἄν is fluid. He can use κἄν for any of καὶ ἄν (1.8.4), καὶ ἐάν (= 'even if' or 'and if') and ἐάν (e.g. 1.5.6, 1.7.4, 1.8.7 (*bis*), 1.9.6, 1.10.2), and indeed simply for καί (1.13.3, 2.1.1, 2.24.3). ἐάν is often contracted, to either ἄν (e.g. 1.6.3, 1.8.5 (*bis*), 1.9.3, 1.11.1) or ἤν (e.g. 2.4.4, 2.14.8). Conditional κἄν (= ἐάν) is found with the opt. at 1.17.4. ἄν is

omitted with the opt. in potential constructions at 1.9.6 and (except in F) 1.9.7, and with the indic. in a counterfactual construction at 2.24.3.

Hybrid conditional constructions, involving a fut. protasis (ἐάν etc. + subj.) and a pres. indic. apodosis are relatively common (1.11.3, 1.13.3, 2.3.2, 2.4.1, 2.26.3).

Pronominal possession is typically marked by gen. personal pronouns attached closely to their nouns, like modern Greek possessive clitics (το σπίτι μου = 'my house'), with the difference that in *L&C* the pronoun almost always precedes the noun. Thus e.g. σου τὴν ὄψιν, 1.2.2; μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, 1.4.2; αὐτοῦ τὸ σχῆμα, 2.4.5; αὐτοῦ τὴν κόμην, 2.22.6. The possessive pronouns ἐμός, σός, ἡμέτερος, ὑμέτερος are less common: they are notably (but not exclusively) used in cases where the noun is implicit or elided (e.g. τὰ ἐμά, 1.2.2, 2.9.3, 2.21.2; τὰ . . . ὑμέτερα, 2.33.3). More generally, the 'inverted gen.' is a distinctive (though not omnipresent) stylistic feature, e.g.: τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκέτης, 1.5.4; Λευκίππης . . . τῶν προσώπων, 1.19.2; τοῦ Σατύρου τὴν τέχνην, 2.20.2.

The dat. of respect is found at 1.4.1, 1.7.4 and 1.13.4, and conceivably at 1.8.2 (see n.).

εἰς is used for ἐν on one occasion in our section (2.14.1).[166] ἐπί + gen. can be used for motion to a place (1.2.3, 2.31.6).

5 LOCATION, SETTING, ENVIRONMENT

(a) Space

L&C is 'the oldest of the extant novels that emphatically draws attention to the importance of an elaborate representation of space'.[167] Topography is a central theme in *L&C* from the very start. We open with a description of Sidon, emphasising its harbour (both natural and constructed: 1.1–2n.). We then encounter the Europa ecphrasis, with its combined landscape and seascape (1.1.3). After this, the frame-narrator takes Clitophon to a grove (full of reminiscences of the famous grove by the Ilissus of Plato's *Phaedrus*: 1.2.3n.). The subsequent narrative unfurls in three locations and their environs (and on the seas connecting them): Tyre (the remainder of Books 1–2), Alexandria and the Nile Delta (3.5–5.15) and Ephesus (5.17–8.19). These locales, as we have seen, correspond closely to the book clusters 1–2, 3–4, 5–8 (Section 3(b)): textual space mirrors geographical.

[166] For parallels in imperial Greek see Papanikolaou 1973: 83–4.
[167] de Temmerman 2012: 517.

Most of the action in Books 1 and 2 takes place within what is apparently a gated (2.31.3n.) estate owned by Clitophon's father Hippias, in Tyre (or perhaps the abutting countryside). There are two brief excursuses, both to the shore: once to welcome Pantheia and Leucippe (1.4) and once to perform expiatory sacrifices to Zeus (2.15–18). The latter event is preceded by a brief scene shift to Byzantium, to fill in the background of a new character, Callisthenes (2.13–14). Clitophon's cousin Clinias lives in a separate house, apparently on the same estate: Clitophon and Satyrus relocate here after Clitophon's failed attempt to have sex with Leucippe (2.26–7), and it is probably here too that Clitophon receives his advice and hears of the death of Charicles (1.7–14). The lovers and their party then escape by carriage down the coast to Beirut, where they head out to sea on a ship bound for Alexandria (2.31–2). The final episode (the discussion with Menelaus) takes place aboard ship.

It is the house of Hippias that dominates Books 1 and 2. *L&C* is not only the earliest surviving example of the aristocratic–domestic novel (the genre of Austen, Emily Bronte and Lawrence); it is also an unjustly neglected source for domestic life in the Roman East. With its vivid portraits of eating and drinking, of relationships between free and slave, of arrangements for leisure and sleeping, it offers numerous parallels with the ancient school-text dialogues known as the *colloquia* (the value of which for social history has been recognised).[168] But Achilles' primary aim was not to record social reality for the benefit of future scholars. Hippias' house plays a symbolic rather than a realistic role within the romance, representing in material form the complex of social and psychological restraints placed upon the young lovers.[169] The house stands for obligation, oppression and the demands of dynastic replication. Almost the first thing Clitophon tells us about himself is that his father had taken a decision to marry him off to Calligone (1.3.2). The tension between Hippias' will and Clitophon's exerts itself continually within the house. When speaking to Clinias he describes an allegorical conflict between Eros and his father: 'I am in the warzone between two antagonists!' (1.11.3). At a later point he describes an inner dialogue, in which he chastises himself: 'Why don't you act properly (σωφρονεῖς)? Why don't you desire what you ought to (ὧν σε δεῖ)?' (2.5.2); but Eros speaks up in opposition. Leaving

[168] Dickey 2017.

[169] My comments on the house summarise Whitmarsh 2010a, where I argue in more detail for its precise layout, and make the case that the episodes at 1.6 and 2.7 take place in the garden. I have, however, revised my opinion about the παράδεισος of 1.15–19, which I now believe to be an adjoining park, i.e. distinct from the peristyle garden in the heart of the house.

the house is thus both a renunciation of his father's control and an assertion of his own will (and submission to Eros). His joy at the sight of the sea (2.32.1) marks the thrill of liberation. Leucippe, similarly, cannot wait to leave, begging Satyrus to take her out of her mother's sight and threatening suicide if he does not (2.30.1–2).

Hippias' influence over the house is exemplified in his acts of control: when Leucippe and Pantheia arrive, he 'divides off' (ἀποτεμόμενος, 1.5.1) a section of it for them; he proceeds to 'arrange' (ἔταξεν, 1.5.1) the family in a suitable configuration for the meal that follows. These displays of ordering transform the household into an ideological map. Hippias' house – traditionally Greek in this respect[170] – is divided along the axis of gender, with Pantheia in command of the female area (2.19.4) and Hippias of the ἀνδρών or male part (2.12.1). The seating arrangement for the symposium, meanwhile, distinguishes by age as well as gender (Figure 1).[171]

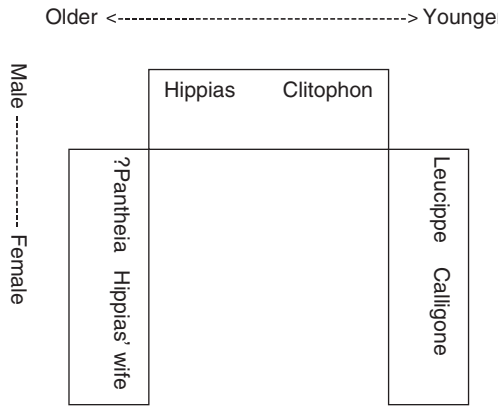

Figure 1 Symposium seating

The dining area is where Hippias displays his wealth and status (via prestige goods, notably the wondrous cup made of rock crystal, 2.3), and where his will is done. In the scene where Satyrus exchanges the cups of Leucippe and Clitophon so that they can indulge in a 'telegraphed kiss' (2.9.2), then, their actions are defiantly subversive: below the level of the social censor, they play out a different script to Hippias'.

[170] Vitr. *De arch.* 6.7.2–4.

[171] The relative positions of Pantheia and Hippias' wife are unclear. It is also unclear from whose perspective Clitophon describes the mothers' couch as 'on the left' and the daughters' as 'on the right'.

The female quarters are described in more detail at 2.19.2–5, where the precise lay-out becomes significant for the plot to inveigle Clitophon into Leucippe's bedroom: a locked door leads to a corridor, with four rooms on either side of it (L.'s, Pantheia's, Clio's, and a store-room). This section of the house is apparently next to the garden. Figure 2 gives a reconstruction *exempli gratia* of this part of the ground floor of the house.

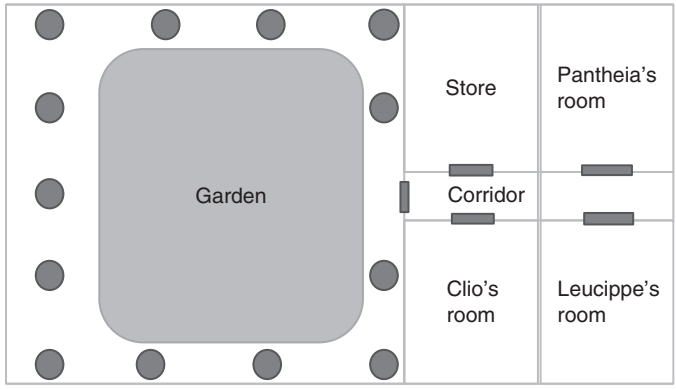

Figure 2 Partial reconstruction of ground-floor of Hippias' house

This protected interior space embodies the mechanisms put in place to protect Leucippe's virginity. Architectural space is homologous with the female anatomy: the 'narrow passage' (στενωπὸς ὁδός) may put readers of Longus in mind of the ὁδός to which Lycaenion guides Daphnis when she initiates him (*D&C* 3.18.4). 'Narrow' too has sexual connotations. In Book 8, the Aristophanic priest alleges that Thersander prostituted himself 'after having rented a narrow passage-way (στενωπεῖον)', an obvious innuendo (8.9.3). The locking of Leucippe's door – heavily emphasised with multiple uses of the κλει- root (ἐκλείετο, 2.19.3; ἔκλειεν, ἀπέκλειε, κλεῖς (*bis*), 2.19.5), and apparently a play on the name Clio (Κλειώ) – can be taken to signify sexual inaccessibility. In Book 4, Leucippe tells Clitophon that they will have to defer their consummation. Clitophon then recalls a dream in which he saw the doors (θύρας) of Aphrodite's temple slam shut; but the goddess appeared to him, saying 'it is not permitted for you to enter the temple for now' (4.1.6–7).

In addition to these two spaces of maximal parental control, the house contains two other areas, which carry very different associations: a garden, fully enclosed within the house and surrounded by a wall and portico (περίπατος), and (apparently) an adjoining park (παράδεισος). The existence of the enclosed garden makes it clear that the house is a grand, elite

residence in the Roman style, perhaps comparable to the Villa Romana del Casale (Figure 3).

Figure 3 *Peripatos* and garden of the Villa Romana del Casale, Piazza Armerina (photo: T. Whitmarsh)

The garden and the park are freer spaces, where nature intervenes in unpredictable ways in human affairs (Section 5(b)) and chance happenings occur (the peacock fans its tail: ἔτυχε . . . τύχηι τινὶ συμβάν, 1.16.2; a wasp happens (ἔτυχε) to sting Clio, 2.7.1). Here, the characters can 'stroll' (βαδίζω: 1.6.6, 2.1.1, 2.10.1), as the Roman elite often did in the porticos of grand peristyle houses, engaging in refined conversation or in the performance of leisured autonomy (a phenomenon known as *ambulatio*).[172] Crucially, Leucippe is unchaperoned by her mother in these places (μόνη, 2.6.1, 2.10.1); Clitophon can flirt with her in a more direct way (1.16–18, 2.6–7), and even kiss and embrace (2.10.2–3). The gardens offer a foretaste of the liberation that will come (at a cost) once they have left the house.

The house as a whole serves as a concrete metaphor for enclosure and containment, one of the dominant themes of Books 1 and 2. The verb κλείω – already, as we have seen, strongly associated with Leucippe's quarters – plays to one of Achilles' favourite themes in Books 1 and 2. In the opening

[172] O'Sullivan 2011, esp. 77–96.

frame, Sidon's harbour 'encloses' the sea (κλείων, 1.1.1). The temple of Astarte has a surrounding courtyard (αὐλῆς περίβολον, 1.1.2),[173] and the meadow in the painting is surrounded by a wall (ἐτείχιζε . . . περιβολή, 1.1.5). Hippias' garden is surrounded by a high wall (τειχίον, 1.15.1). The female body too is imagined as a locked space (just as Leucippe's bedroom is locked away): Europa's clothing 'encloses' (ἔκλειε, 1.1.12) her breasts,[174] and Clitophon fantasises that Leucippe's mouth has 'enclosed' (ἔκλεισε 2.1.3) a flower; as she whispers a spell, she 'opens and closes' (ἀνοίγουσα καὶ κλείουσα, 2.7.5) her lips. In contrast, the verb ἀνοίγειν is used repeatedly of opening up such spaces (1.1.4, 1.1.6, 1.1.7, 1.4.3, 2.7.5, 2.11.8, 2.14.9, 2.19.5, 2.23.6, 2.26.1, 2.31.4, 2.37.8).[175]

A series of interrelated ideas is communicated through this imagery. We have mentioned the erotic (Clitophon longs to enter the protected spaces of Leucippe's room and her body) and the social-psychological (L. and Clitophon long to break out of the enclosure of the house). The imagery is also used to convey the disruption of youthful innocence. In the Europa ecphrasis, the bull breaking into the meadow suggests a sudden manifestation of violent, male sexuality to naive virgins (see 1.1.7n. on the ambivalent response of Europa's companions). Conversely, Leucippe's arrival at Tyre is described by Clitophon in terms of its violent psychological effects (the vision of her 'struck' Clitophon's eyes 'like lightning' (καταστράπτει, 1.4.2); he was 'destroyed' (ἀπωλώλειν, 1.4.4)). In both cases, albeit in different ways, the protected space of the naive youth is invaded by figures representing the violence of ἔρως, and the complex demands of adulthood.

There is a literary dimension to this network of images. The series of enclosures – the harbour of Sidon, the meadow in the ecphrasis, the house, the walled garden – literalise the idea of the narrative 'frame'. Analogously, thanks to the first-person narrative form, everything in this romance is 'framed', and readers are invaders into that frame. Indeed, Clitophon's first reader is the unnamed narrator, violently thrust (by a storm) into the 'closed' (cf. κλείων, 1.1.1, with n.) harbour of Sidon. Conversely, the act of interpretation can be imagined as a kind of 'opening up'. At 2.11.4–8 we encounter the story of the invention of Tyrian dye: a dog bit into a murex shell, which reddened its jaws. The owner 'understood the nature of the shell' (συνῆκεν . . . τοῦ κόχλου τὴν φύσιν), and

[173] If my emendation is accepted: see n.

[174] On the widespread idea that female clothing functions as a portable house see Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 189–214.

[175] On A.'s preoccupation with the interior spaces of the female body see Liviabella Furiani 2002: 141–2; Fredericksen 2018.

'searched out its mysteries' (ζητῶν . . . τὰ μυστήρια): he 'broke open the wall' (περιθραύει τὸ τεῖχος) and 'opened up the inner sanctum' (τὸ ἄδυτον ἀνοίγει). The act of sense-making (cf. συνῆκεν) is thus tied to the penetration of the interior of this 'walled' space. The language is reminiscent of that used in allegories (see 2.11.4–8n.).

The house is thus much more than the physical setting for Books 1 and 2: it is the hub of much of Achilles' literary imagery.

(b) The Natural World

The house, what is more, is an ordered space reflecting human culture and society. Greeks from the classical period onwards opposed human convention (νόμος) or art (τέχνη) to the natural world (φύσις), usually ambivalently: nature is terrifying, wild and potentially destructive, but also offers a normative guide to human instincts and ethics. Culture, conversely, is at the same time what protects us from savagery and a system of constraint imposing arbitrary distinctions. These themes have long been recognised as central to Longus' *D&C*;[176] though less overt in *L&C*, they play just as important a role.

The interaction between nature and culture is a theme of the opening frame. Sidon has a double harbour, part natural and part constructed (1.1.1). In the painting, the sea and the meadow are natural spaces; but the meadow contains flowers planted in a row (1.1.5), is surrounded by a wall (1.1.5), and depicts a man rechannelling water (1.1.6). This hybridisation has a self-reflexive dimension, for the painting itself is a work of human art created by a τεχνίτης (1.1.4). But there is more to it than this. The subject of the painting, Europa and the bull, has an allegorical aspect. Sexual desire is associated with nature: at 1.11.3, Clitophon describes his conflict in terms of a war between φύσις (his own urges) and necessity (his father's will; cf. 1.9.6). It is linked particularly with the sea, a realm presided over by Aphrodite (cf. 5.16.3): thus Europa's companions, displaying a mixture of joy and fear (1.1.7), and dipping their toes into the sea (1.1.8), represent the tentativeness of the young in the face of burgeoning sexual desire (a theme of *L&C* as a whole). Even the king of the gods is bestialised by his lusts: the figure of Eros on the painting 'was turned towards Zeus, smiling surreptitiously as though mocking him because it was he who had inspired Zeus to turn into a bull' (1.1.13).

[176] See e.g. Zeitlin 1990; Teske 1991.

Within the house, the garden – apparently enclosed within its interior, and (like the meadow) framed by a wall – is a space where the natural and the built environments meet. Here we encounter strong pointers that nature and culture have been blended: a spring surrounded by an artificial (χειροποίητος) square channel (1.15.6), and birds, some 'tame (χειροήθεις)', others 'free of wing' (ἐλεύθερον ἔχοντες τὸ πτερόν, 1.15.7). The blended environment of the garden indicates its role in the narrative: it is still contained within Hippias' house, and so still subject to scrutiny and constraint; but it is also a place where the natural urgings of desire can be more freely expressed and explored (Section 5(a)). The garden is also blended in another sense: Clitophon describes the water as functioning like a 'mirror' (κάτοπτρον) for the flowers, 'so that the garden seemed to be doubled: part real, part reflection' (1.15.6). As in the Europa ecphrasis, the language of nature and culture has an aesthetic component, reflecting Achilles' conception of art as nature transformed.[177]

It is in the context of the garden that Clitophon delivers his series of orations on the role of desire in all aspects of nature: birds, stones, trees, rivers, fish and reptiles (1.16–18). This is a disquisition on the power (ἰσχύν, 1.17.1) of love, and it fleshes out the frame-narrator's summation of the meaning of the Europa painting: 'what power (οἷον . . . ἄρχει) for a boy to wield over heaven, earth and sea!' (1.2.1). In both cases, the forcefulness of love is expressed in terms of its dominion over the entirety of nature, not just the human realm. Clitophon's speech is not a statement of philosophical position but a ruse designed to win over Leucippe. Nevertheless, it does capture an aspect of Achilles' general presentation of ἔρως as a power that may be violently aggressive but is also fundamental to all existence.[178] 'Nature' (φύσις) can be used to refer simply to the sexual demands of the body (1.9.6, 1.11.3). This collapsing of boundaries between the human and the natural is captured in the syzygic affirmation, that distinctively Achillean form of expression (Section 4(b), for other instances). When Clitophon poses the rhetorical question (in relation to magnetic attraction) 'is this not a kiss between the love-struck magnet and the beloved iron?' (1.17.2) the boundary between the natural and the human is questioned. Is that claim an anthropomorphic projection of human values? Or do minerals 'really' kiss?[179]

[177] Mignogna 1995; Hindermann 2013.

[178] Alperowitz 1992: 96–8.

[179] We may compare the challenges emerging out of Amazonian anthropology to the standard, western privileging of culture over nature, in such recent books as Eduardo Kohn's *How forests think* (2013).

The relationship between nature and culture is gendered.[180] Clinias' seduction advice comparing women to untamed beasts (1.9.6) includes recommendations on how to make a woman εὐάγωγος, 'amenable', literally 'easy to lead', a word used of well-trained horses (1.10.5 with n.). This association has deep roots in Greek thought: we might think of Homer's phrase 'unsubdued maiden' (παρθένος ἀδμής, *Od.* 6.109, 228), or of Anacreon's Thracian filly (417 *PMG*). In the garden, Clitophon picks up the same theme: 'wishing to make the girl amenable (εὐάγωγον) to love' (1.16.1). The nature-stories he tells become parables for his (male) dominance over the natural realm. Yet this homology between female/male and nature/culture is not entirely stable. In the Europa ecphrasis, the woman is (or is perceived by the frame-narrator to be) in control of the bull, like a sailor steering a ship (1.1.3, 1.1.12); it is the male who has been transformed by Eros into a bull (1.1.13), a figure of monstrous force (1.1.8–9n.). In the garden, Clitophon implicitly compares himself *qua* seducer to the peacock fanning its tail (1.16.2n.). On these occasions, the natural is coopted to express assertive masculinity rather than untamed femininity.

Nature is not limited to the bestial: Leucippe is repeatedly associated with plant life, particularly flowers. A thirteenth-century Byzantine writer described *L&C* as 'full of charms and flower (χαρίτων καὶ ἄνθους)',[181] apparently acknowledging not just the exuberant, 'flowery' style but also the thematic centrality of flowers, particularly throughout Books 1 and 2, from the florid Europa ecphrasis (1.1.3, 1.1.5) to the garden, where the rose, narcissus and violet display their 'multicoloured hue' (ποικίλην . . . χροιάν, 1.15.5). The flowers of the garden are mirrored first in the water (1.15.6) then in the plumage of the birds ('the vision of the flowers glowed in competition with (ἀντέλαμπε) the hue (τῇ . . . χροιᾶι) of the birds', 1.15.8). χροιά, however, also means 'skin', and that ambiguity facilitates a comparison to Leucippe's own face: 'the beauty of her form vied with the flowers of the meadow: her face gleamed with the complexion of narcissus, the rose bloomed forth from her cheeks, violet was the radiance that shone from her eyes, the clusters of her locks coiled more than ivy. Such was the brilliant meadow (λειμών) that lay on Leucippe's face' (1.19.1–2). In particular, Clitophon associates her mouth with a blooming rose: when we first meet her, he comments that 'her mouth was like the bloom of a rose, when the rose begins to open (ἀνοίγειν) the lips of its petals' (1.4.3); early in Book 2, having heard her songs (one about a

[180] Morales 2004: 184–99, pointing out that Leucippe is later in the romance assimilated to animals such as the phoenix and the hippo.

[181] Hörandner 2012: 105 (lines 90–1).

rose), 'I thought that I could see the rose on her lips, as if someone had enclosed the outline of the calyx within the shape of her mouth' (2.1.2). Here the flower theme plays to the metaphor of enclosure discussed in Section 5(a): the flower is imagined as a closed space that opens up in bloom, an obvious erotic analogy (linking the mouth and the genitalia).

Flowers are also linked to beautiful young men: thus Clinias begs Charicles 'do not destroy your flower before time' (1.8.9), i.e. by marrying; Charicles' father laments that the mangled face of his son no longer carries its flower (1.13.3); and Menelaus argues for the preferability of male beauty on the grounds that it resembles the brief-flowering rose (2.36.1–2). With males, the metaphor operates differently: male beauty is flower-like because it is fragile and short-lived, on the analogy of a youth tragically killed before his time (1.8.9n.) – not because it suggests penetration. The flower theme thus connects Clitophon and Clinias in their objects of desire, while differentiating them by gender. We also find metaphorical flowers on the peacock's fan (1.15.8) and the jewellery on Calligone's clothing (2.11.3), and even on a murex shell (2.11.5). In general, the flower theme marks an exuberant, multi-sensory aesthetics that emanates from the natural world, and bleeds into human culture too.

6 ETHICS, PHILOSOPHY, CULTURE

(a) Sex and Gender

L&C is a narrative about sexual desire: primarily about one young man's obsessive desire for a young woman, but also, at a more abstract level, about desire in general. It contains very many reflections on the nature of ἔρως; but since these are (inevitably, in a homodiegetic narrative) always character-bound, none is necessarily authoritative. The overall effect is of an asystematic collage of responses and reactions.

The romances in general, and *L&C* in particular, have been heavily mined as evidence for attitudes towards gender and sexuality. The constructions of both femininity and masculinity have been the subjects of book-length studies.[182] 'Homosexuality' has been well explored.[183] Sexuality in the romance has been read in relation to early Christian protocols of sexual behaviour.[184] In particular, Michel Foucault's *The care of the self* influentially presented the romances as expressing a new (for Greece) mode of sexual ethics, one less hierarchical and phallocentric,

[182] Haynes 2003; Jones 2012.
[183] Dubé 2005; Makowski 2014.
[184] Cooper 1996.

and more reciprocal, than that found in Classical times.[185] Foucault's thesis has been much discussed and criticised in particular for its neglect of the playful and literary aspects of the romances.[186] *L&C* seems an especially bad fit for his thesis: a heavily androcentric text with a marked tendency to present women as the disempowered objects of male gazing.[187]

A full treatment of these topics is beyond the scope of this section, but it will be helpful to highlight the central erotic themes of *L&C* (particularly Books 1 and 2), and where relevant to sketch the social-historical context within which Achilles and his first readers operated. Books 1 and 2, as we have seen, focus on the escape from the house, a cultural space symbolising societal control and repression (what Freud would call the superego), in pursuit of the satisfaction of natural sexual desires for kissing (1.17.2n.) and sexual intercourse (τὸ ἔργον, 1.9.5n.). This is a striking innovation: no text of earlier Greek literature presents the desire of young lovers in a state of long-term tension with, and finally outweighing, that of parents. Menandrian New Comedy supplies a precedent of a sort: plots often turn upon the conversion of an apparently unmarriageable couple into a marriageable one (e.g. by discovering that a *hetaira* is the daughter of an Athenian citizen). In Chariton's *Call.* the two lovers' sets of parents, who are political enemies, initially resist their children's union, but swiftly yield. Greco-Roman children were not expected to countermand their parents' will, and in particular eloping was deeply transgressive. Consensual eloping and rape could be viewed, as in a notorious law of Constantine's published in 320 CE, as analogous affronts to the rights of parents; the distinction expressed in the law is simply that eloping involves complicity on the female part as well as the male (see further below).[188] This view is expressed by Pantheia, Leucippe's mother, in a passage (deeply shocking to modern readers) in which she expresses the preference that her daughter should have been raped in war rather than having agreed to pre-marital sex (2.23.4–5).

Alongside this heavy-handed parental control over the sex lives of their offspring ran strict protocols governing (particularly female) speech and visibility, ranged under the heading of αἰδώς: very loosely 'shame' or 'modesty', but the word has a much broader range than that, covering the entire realm of the superego, particularly in matters of sex.[189] Clitophon

[185] Foucault 1986b: 228–32.
[186] Konstan 1994; Goldhill 1995; Swain 1996: 118–31.
[187] Morales 2004.
[188] *Codex Theodosianus* 9.24.1. On the date of 320, see Evans Grubbs 1989: 60. Evans Grubbs views the law as an attempt to control abduction marriage (on which see further below).
[189] Cairns 1993 (focusing on archaic and classical sources) is fundamental.

defines it as the psychological 'wound' inflicted when one is reproached for one's wrongdoings (2.29.3). When Clinias offers Clitophon seduction advice, he warns that girls (παρθένοι) and boys (παῖδες) are similar in respect of αἰδώς: you cannot talk about erotic matters directly or you will scare them off (1.10.3). It is the same constraint that prevents girls from directly expressing willingness to engage in sex. In a passage that modern readers find troubling, Clinias suggests that girls sometimes pretend to resist when they are really open to persuasion (1.10.6). We shall return below to the issue of consent; for now let us merely note that this claim is presented not as justification for the use of force – Clinias proceeds specifically to counsel 'if she persists, do not coerce her' (1.10.7) – but as an illustration of the effects of αἰδώς, which requires the disguise of all expressions of sexuality. It afflicts Clitophon as well: he is 'ashamed' at the prospect of being caught looking at Leucippe (1.4.5), and he imagines his father wielding αἰδώς as a weapon (1.11.3). αἰδώς can also be used, by metonymy, as a euphemism for the female genitals (1.1.10 with n., 2.23.5) themselves. As a result, communication of sexual content occurs primarily at the level of insinuation and euphemism, the hope being that the implicit meaning will be grasped (συνιέναι: 1.17.1, 2.6.2, 2.7.6, 2.9.3; cf. 2.21.5) without the need for explicit expression.[190]

This, however, is not a conventionally 'moral' tale. For all the αἰδώς he feels, Clitophon does 'gaze shamelessly' at Leucippe (ἔβλεπον ἀναιδῶς, 1.4.5; cf. 2.3.3). At 1.5.7 he chides himself for his excessive αἰσχύνη (a word belonging to the same semantic field of 'shame'), using the counterexample of Apollo's pursuit of Daphne. Another central term in Greek sexual ethics is σωφροσύνη: broadly, self-restraint in matters of the appetite. Clitophon, however, renounces this attribute early on (1.5.6–7; cf. 2.5.2). In fact, Clitophon turns his back on precisely the moral qualities displayed by Chariton's protagonists (1.5.7n.). *L&C*, at least in its early stages, is about not the legitimation of desire through a parentally endorsed marriage, but the avoidance of parentally endorsed marriage so as to satisfy individual desires. Indeed, even the postponement of consummation till the marriage at the end is the result more of happenstance than of design.

Eros has positive aspects. It is associated with pleasure (ἡδονή: 1.4.3, 1.6.1, 1.7.2, 1.9.4, 2.8, 2.23.4), and indeed the debate that closes Book 2 turns precisely on the various sexual pleasures generated by different forms of act. It is on several occasions coupled with food and/or wine (1.5.3, 1.6.1, 2.3.3). Erotic experience can be construed as a form of mystery religion, offering higher levels of initiation (1.2.2, 1.7.1 (τελετή,

[190] See further Liviabella Furiani 1998.

τελέω); 1.9.7, 1.10.5, 2.19.1, 2.37.5 etc. (μυέω, μυστήριον etc.)).[191] Here, the various stages of seduction (culminating in penetration) are imagined by analogy with the differential grades of initiation. Relatedly, it can be imagined as a journey with staging-posts (1.9.5, 1.9.7, 2.19.1).[192] Indeed, as we have seen, Eros is presented as a natural, vital force that animates all being (Section 5(b)).

Elsewhere, however, desire is a dark, violent force. When we first meet Clitophon in the frame, he bewails the injuries Eros has inflicted upon him (1.2.1). The 'power' of Eros manifests itself not just in the extent of his dominion (1.2.1, 1.17.1), but also in his capacity to subjugate, harm and humiliate. When Clitophon first sees Leucippe, he assimilates the effect to a death-dealing blow from an arrow (1.4.5); the imagery of intense pain occurs elsewhere (1.6.2–3, 1.9.1), and associates erotic pain with Eros' iconographic attributes, the bow and the torch (1.11.3, 2.5.2). Like the Latin love elegists (from whom he may well derive these metaphors: Section 4(a)), Achilles presents desire as a form of slavery (*servitium amoris*: 1.7.2, 2.4.4, 2.6.2), military service (1.10.4–5; cf. 1.9.1) or athletic training (2.4.4).

The military metaphor implies more than drudgery and labour: it suggests that the object of one's desire is to be captured, like a besieged city (1.10.4n.). Eros is not just violent for the one who experiences it; it also manifests itself as a form of 'attack' upon the other (2.5.1, 2.10.1–3). As Morales (2004) in particular has emphasised, violence against women is a theme from the very start: it is implied in the myths of Zeus's abduction of Europa and of Apollo's rape of Daphne, which Clitophon finds erotically stimulating (1.5.5). Similarly, Pantheia's dream that her daughter is being stabbed in the genitals – a dream that signifies defloration – depends upon an analogy between heterosexual sex and violent assault (2.23.5, with n.).[193] Clitophon never displays any explicit tendencies of violence towards Leucippe; but the implication is always there that the male possession of woman is homologous with physical domination.

L&C focuses centrally, indeed obsessively, on male desire for others, chiefly women, and primarily Leucippe. It is prima facie unsurprising, therefore, to find the erotic gaze presented in a radically asymmetrical form.[194] In the Europa ecphrasis, the subject's body is erotically scrutinised

[191] This association is rooted in Plato, *Symp.* 209c–10a (Nightingale 2004: 151–80); the *Phaedrus* too contains a prominent discussion of the effects of desire upon an ἀρτιτελής (249e–51a).

[192] Cf. Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.52, Xen. Eph. 3.1.7, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 245.1, 275.3–4.

[193] On weapons and intimations of sexual violence in *L&C* see Morales 2004: 172–84.

[194] Morales 2004.

in minute detail, as if she were an aggregate of parts rather than an integrated human being: navel, belly, waist, pelvic region, breasts (1.1.10). Similarly, Clitophon is obsessed with looking at Leucippe (1.4.2–4, 1.6.6, 1.19.1, 2.9.2–3; at 2.3.3, conversely, she gazes upon him). Even in his imagination, the vision of her never leaves him (1.9.1). It is perhaps a marker of Leucippe's elite status that Clitophon does not pore over her body, as the frame-narrator does over Europa; rather, it is her face that he describes, itemising her eyes, hair, cheeks and (especially) mouth (1.4.3: for the mouth, also 2.1.3, 2.7.4–6, 2.8.2). The mouth is the most beautiful part of the body (2.8.2); Clitophon and his companions are obsessed with kissing (2.8.1–2, 2.37.7–9, 2.38.5).

Women are associated with male 'construction' and display: Europa in the painting is the creation of a male τεχνίτης (1.1.4); Leucippe looks like a painting, and blushes like a dyed artefact (1.4.3); Calligone is adorned by her father with precious, artfully manufactured clothing (2.11.1–4). The effect of this is to present women as passive objects of male imaginative conjuring, lacking in ability to express themselves or determine their courses. Analogously, our conception of Leucippe's feelings is entirely mediated by Clitophon (Section 3(a)). But perhaps this presentation is subverted by the course of events. There are signs that Clitophon and his peers underestimate women. For a start, the Europa ecphrasis emphasises the agency of the woman on the bull, who steers the bull like a rider, directing him in her preferred direction (1.1.10, with n.). Leucippe too is no pushover: at times she seems to be pulling the strings in the relationship (although for reading of the situation we are once again dependent on Clitophon: Section 3(a)). Clinias certainly believes in female agency, even if he despises it (1.8.1–9).

The romance between Leucippe and Clitophon is differentiated from two other potential relationships in our two books: that between Clitophon and his half-sister Calligone (the match that Hippias sought to engineer), and that between Leucippe and Callisthenes (her would-be abductor, who in fact ends up taking Calligone). The proposed marriage to Calligone is strange: one implication of the dream Clitophon experiences at 1.3.4 may be that supernatural forces (who make a rare intervention here) disapprove of its incestuous nature (see n.). Callisthenes' approach is more straightforwardly a negative counterexample. Introduced as a dissolute (ἄσωτος), rich young man (2.13.1), he functions at one level as the inverse of an ideal romance hero (2.11–18n.). Like Habrocomes, the hero of Xenophon of Ephesus' *A&H*, he sees the female for the first time at a festival and falls for her (2.15.1; he has, however, already fallen for the oral report of her). Rather than wooing her in a mutual romance, however, he snatches her, employing local bandits. As in the myth of the Lapiths and Centaurs, the opposition between marriage and violent abduction (ἁρπαγή) is used to structure

moral polarities of civilised and uncivilised behaviour. Callisthenes' behaviour, indeed, has striking resemblances to the practice of 'abduction marriage', attested in the Roman Empire, as described by one modern scholar:

> Rejection of a suitor by the girl's family, either after he has made an offer or, worse still, after a betrothal has already been concluded, is an attack on his male honour and must be avenged if he is to retain his standing in the community. [Callisthenes has already been rebuffed by Leucippe's father: 2.13.2.] Therefore the refusal of a suitor by a girl's parents, or the breaking off of a betrothal, can provide the motivation for an abduction . . . The would-be abductor gathers together male companions of his own age. The raiding party may waylay the intended bride outside her home while she is going about her daily chores, for instance at the well, or they may break into her house and seize her. Often violence ensues. The girl's father and brothers will attempt to defend her . . . The girl's family will be very angry for a while, perhaps for as long as several years. Eventually, however, there will be a reconciliation.[195]

The opposition between Callisthenes and Clitophon is not, however, entirely stable. From the point of view of Pantheia and Sostratus, once Clitophon and his company escape towards the end of Book 2, he is just as guilty of the ἁρπαγή of Leucippe as Callisthenes is of the ἁρπαγή of Calligone. Leucippe's own desires are, from this point of view (the basis of ancient law-making in this regard), immaterial. In general, Clitophon's behaviour towards Leucippe is hardly beyond reproach: he tends to assume Leucippe's consent rather than ask for it (1.19.1n., 2.10.3n.), and Callisthenes' machinations against Calligone are described in terms similar to his own against Leucippe (2.13.3n.; 2.15.1n.). Clitophon's own negative portrayal of Callisthenes, then, may have been read by ancient readers as a self-serving attempt to exonerate himself, by (specious) differentiation.

From Clitophon's perspective, however, Leucippe's consent *does* matter: she actively chooses to run away with Clitophon and the others (2.30.1–2). This brings us to the complex question of Leucippe's own will. As we have seen (Section 3(a)), she is silent for the entirety of Book 1, and even in Book 2 we have only a few words, and Clitophon's interpretations of them, as a guide to her thought processes. Sometimes she seems to reciprocate his feelings (2.9); on other occasions there are signs that she may not consent to his advances (esp. 2.7.7, 2.10.3, with nn.). It is not until 2.19.2 that we are told unambiguously that Clitophon has

[195] Evans Grubbs 1989: 61–2.

'persuaded' her, i.e. that she has assented to sex with him (and even here we do not get her words verbatim). 'Persuasion', however, can imply a heavily one-sided relationship. In Clinias' advice in Book 1, a sharp moral line is drawn between the use of 'force' (βία) and 'persuasion' (πειθώ), but the clear implication is that the latter too involves imposing the man's will (1.10.7). 'If she persists,' Clinias advises, 'do not coerce her, for she is unpersuaded *as yet* (οὔπω)' (1.10.7, my emphasis). That 'as yet' suggests an inevitability: apply the right seduction techniques, Clinias advises, and in time you will get your way. Seduction is not a dialogue between two equal partners, but the result of the strategic application by one of them of a set of technical principles, and the tactical seizing of opportunities (1.10.5, 1.10.7, 2.3.3, 2.4.4, 2.7.5, 2.9.3, 2.10.3, 2.19.1).

The relationship between Leucippe and Clitophon is also contrasted with that between Clinias and Charicles, the only other reciprocated erotic partnership described in real time in Books 1 and 2. The major distinction here is between same-sex and other-sex desire – or, to put it more precisely, between male desire for males and male desire for females. The modern-western labels 'homosexual' and 'heterosexual' are at one level anachronistic, since antiquity did not have a concept of sexuality as the innate essence of a human subject, or indeed of male and female same-sex desire as a unified field. But the alternatives are worse.[196] In particular, the same-sex love enacted in *L&C* is not 'pederastic': there is no sign of the classical-Athenian model whereby older, bearded men court boys in their teens.[197] In the two male–male relationships presented in *L&C*, that between Clinias and Charicles (in Book 1) and that between Menelaus and his unnamed lover (in Book 2), there is no great difference in age: Clinias is 21, and introduced as a νέος (an age band that typically describes men between 20 and 30: 1.7.1n.). Charicles is a μειράκιον, which puts him around Clinias' own age, or perhaps even older (1.7.1n.). Menelaus, a νεανίσκος, is probably also in his late teens (2.33.1n.), not dissimilar in age from the μειράκιον he loves (2.34.1). In A.'s world, neither same-sex nor indeed other-sex relationships are characterised by significant age disparities.[198] There is no readily available language to describe without

[196] Clitophon uses the phrase ὁ εἰς τοὺς ἄρρενας ἔρως (2.35.3).

[197] As Lauren Marshall has argued in an exemplary Cambridge undergraduate dissertation: the discussion for the remainder of this paragraph is indebted to her (as is my adoption of the label 'homosexual', which, though anachronistic, is less misleading than 'pederastic').

[198] It might be assumed that it would be unusual to find a relationship between an older woman and a younger man; but in fact this is precisely what we do encounter later in *L&C*, when Cl. meets Melite. At 8.9.2–3, Thersander is accused of having been a rent-boy in his youth, presumably to older men.

distortion the sexual identities dramatised in *L&C*. I have sometimes used the labels 'heterosexual' and 'homosexual' for economy, but always with the quotation marks that should remind readers of their inadequacy.

Conventional wisdom (as developed by Kenneth Dover and canonised by Michel Foucault) suggests that Greek sexual identities were defined not, as in the modern West, by preference for one particular sex (or more), but by hierarchical differentiation: the normative requirement, it is held, was that the active party (whether in pursuit or penetration) should be of a higher social status (women being by definition of lower status than men).[199] That schematic, cultural-constructionist model has been vigorously challenged, in favour of a model proposing greater continuity of experience across time and space.[200] That debate, in any case, has focused primarily on archaic and classical Greece; *L&C* is the product of a different, later culture. Achilles certainly presents a sharp differentiation between on the one hand Clinias and Menelaus, who desire males, and on the other the 'heterosexual' Clitophon. This is brought out most sharply in the debate at sea that closes Book 2, where the relative merits of the love of boys and women are explored (a debate that is, at least in overall structure, paralleled in a number of texts from Achilles' era: 2.35–8n.). There is, however, no sign here of a fixed, innate sexual identity – a 'sexuality' in the modern sense – rather, the discussion focuses upon an ethical question, i.e. the best routes to sexual pleasure. The debate is notable for its presentation of 'heterosexual' intercourse as mutually pleasurable, and of female orgasm as a positive benefit.

There is no indication in *L&C* of any negative moral judgement of desire between males (as there is arguably in *D&C*, where pederasty is implicitly presented as a symptom of urban decadence: see 4.11.2), and indeed there is no declared winner of the debate that closes Book 2. The reader of *L&C* is left with the sense that the world is viewed from different erotic perspectives, each with its merits:[201] whereas Clitophon tells a tale of 'heterosexual' romance fulfilled, Clinias could have told a tale of tragically doomed 'homosexual' love. Nevertheless, there may not be complete parity. First, Clinias' obsessive misogyny (1.8.1–8; cf. 2.35.2) jars with the positive portrayal of Leucippe and of Clitophon's quest to win her. Second, in the case of both the 'homosexual' narratives of *L&C* (Clinias and Charicles, Menelaus and his unnamed boyfriend), the beloved dies tragically. Particularly when conjoined with the literary model for both these stories, Xenophon of Ephesus' story of Hippothous and Hyperanthes

[199] Dover 1989 (1979); Foucault 1986a.
[200] Davidson 2007.
[201] Hubbard 2009.

(*A&H* 3.1–2; 1.7–11n.), this begins to look like a pattern. There are hints in the presentation of the death of Charicles, and in particular in the loss of control of his horse, that suggest that it might be read as an allegory for psychological instability and excessive passion (1.12–14n.). It is important, however, not to over-read these signs: Charicles' death is also presented as the tragic passing of a noble, almost heroic figure (1.12–14n.). The real deaths of Charicles and Menelaus' boyfriend may well be contrasted with the false deaths of Leucippe later in the tale, perhaps with the suggestion that 'heterosexual' desire is more permanent and life-giving; but when we consider that the opening frame hints obliquely that Leucippe too may have died prematurely (Section 4(c)), that strong opposition is destabilised.

There are signs too of a more experimental conception of sexuality that we today would call 'queer' or 'polymorphous', particularly in the natural-historical disquisitions of 1.16–18.[202] Clitophon begins with the peacock, which embodies a conventional 'heterosexuality', whereby male performs to female in order to impress. He then proceeds to the attraction between the magnet (grammatically female) and iron (grammatically male): the female is imagined to have an 'erotic fire' inside it, which it transmits to the passive male. Next comes the date-palm: the male is imagined to be rooted to the spot, and the female exiled abroad; the male is consoled when a spathe of the female plant is inserted into the male. In this model, the female becomes both the errant rogue and the penetrator. The case of the fountain Arethusa and the river Alpheus seems more conventional: the male woos the female, and the submarine current connecting the two suggests a form of seminal flow (although the saltiness of the (female) surrounding sea may complicate this picture). Next come the (female) eel and the (male) viper: in this case the male is required to spit out its deadly venom (hinting at human male ejaculation) before an apparently non-penetrative embrace can take place. All these sexual stories are told by Clitophon to Leucippe in an attempt to seduce her into a conventional, if extramarital, heterosexual relationship; but the stories themselves, filtered through examples drawn from the natural world, explore a much more diverse set of potential relationships between genders.

(b) Religion and Philosophy

Reinhold Merkelbach once proposed that the ancient novels were rooted in the worship of deities in mystery cults.[203] Some novels respond to religious

[202] See more generally Zeitlin 2012.
[203] Merkelbach 1962, with 114–60 on *L&C*; 1995, with 364–95 on *L&C*.

interpretations better than others: in the cases of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and (in a different way) Heliodorus' *Ch&Th*, the religiosity is hard to miss (albeit not easy to interpret). For *L&C*, however, Merkelbach was required to argue from allegory: what looks like a tale of love and adventure, he argued, is in fact a disguised tale of initiatory rebirth and life eternal under the sign of Isis. Merkelbach's theories have not been widely accepted. Although the language of mystery cult and initiation appears frequently in the novel, its metaphorical application to eroticism is rooted in a literary reading of Plato. The tale of the invention of purple dye – the murex shell is prised open to reveal inner 'mysteries' (μυστήρια, 2.11.7) – certainly hints at a concealed allegorical meaning (2.11.4–8n.), but this hint is playful rather than solemn, and there is no reason to take it as paradigmatic for a reading of the romance as a whole.[204] The theme of Leucippe's repeated (false) deaths and rebirths is better read as a self-reflexive overkill of one of the genre's clichés (as in Chariton's *Call.*) than as an allegory of the soul's rebirth after death (see Section 4(a) on Achilles' use of Chariton). Indeed, one of the central problems with Merkelbach's thesis is precisely its humourlessness: *L&C* is a sophisticated literary text rather than an earnest liturgical document.

Religion plays a relatively small role in *L&C*: in our portion, we find only the frame-narrator sacrificing to Astarte in thanks for his survival in the storm (1.1.2), the sacrificial offering ahead of the wedding (2.12), the Byzantine oracle and the subsequent embassy to Tyre, culminating in a procession (2.13–15). The gods are believed to communicate with mortals, but vaguely and minimally: the identity of the dream visitor at 1.3.4 is unclear and her message not entirely unambiguous (1.3–4n., 1.3.4n.). The dreams of Hippias at 2.11.1 (together with the following omen at 2.12.1) and Pantheia at 2.23.4 are more straightforward, but these are not said to be divine in origin. At 2.14.1 the Byzantines are said to receive an oracle, but again the deity and the cult site are not specified. The contrast with Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus is striking: while the earlier romancers, with their omniscient narrators, can report what is happening in the superhuman world, 'Clitophon is confined to imprecise deductions.'[205]

The literary function of these premonitions is to involve the reader cognitively in the process of guessing what will happen next;[206] there is no sign of any doctrinaire philosophical belief in predestination (such as

[204] Cf. 2.14.7–9, where Chaerephon's aquatic marvels are said to contain μυστήρια and τὸ ἀπόρρητον.
[205] Morgan 2004: 497.
[206] Bartsch 1989.

the Stoics held). At 1.3.2 Clitophon comments, 'the deity (τὸ δαιμόνιον) often likes to tell people the future at night, not so that they can avoid experiencing it (for it is impossible to master fate (εἱμαρμένης)) but so that they can bear it more lightly'. There was a philosophical interest in the question of determinism in Achilles' era (to which *inter alia* Alexander of Aphrodisias' *De fato* bears witness), and Clitophon's use of the word εἱμαρμένη may allude to this kind of technical discussion (see n.). Despite the philosophical veneer, however, the sentiment is widespread throughout Greek literature, and hardly philosophically specialist.

Like many Greek writers of his era, Achilles knows Plato well, particularly the *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium* (but also the *Republic*); but he uses Plato less as a philosophical theorist than as a model for the organisation of literary features (frame narrative, topographical setting, dialogue) and as a prestigious precedent for the high-level treatment of erotic desire (Section 4(a)).

Two related areas where his interests border on the technical are materialism and psychology. Achilles (or his characters) conceives of the soul as located within a porous physical frame, and susceptible to particles pouring in in the form of sense impressions. In particular, bodies give off streams of particles, which enter the bodies of others via the eyes and ears (these are therefore described as 'routes': 1.4.4, 2.21.4). This explains the devastating effects caused by the perception of the beloved: 'the effluence of beauty (ἡ . . . τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή)' (a phrase borrowed from the *Phaedrus*) pours down through the eyes into the soul, 'creating a kind of copulation at a distance' (1.9.4; see 1.9.4–5n., and cf. 1.4.4, 2.29.2, 5.13.4).[207] Touch too is imagined in material terms: 'I perceived the kiss sitting on me like a material presence (σώματος)' (2.8.1).

Ethical practice is conceived in terms of a psychological struggle between the opposing forces of socialised morality (αἰδώς, σωφροσύνη: see Section 6(a)) and the passions (stimulated by the senses). When the soul is in a state of calm equilibrium, the passions are held at bay; but when it is turbulent, they rise up and overpower it, an effect that may be compared to a wave or a flood (1.6.3, 2.29.1–2). This agonistic model is expressed most vividly at 1.11.3, where Clitophon imagines his father (wielding αἰδώς) and Eros as two contestants (cf. ἀνταγωνίζεται), with himself as the terrain over which they fight; and at 2.5, where he imagines an inner dialogue between himself (urging σωφροσύνη) and Eros.[208] This binary psychological model (its two elements corresponding, broadly, to reason

[207] Morales 2004: 15–17, 130–5.
[208] Cf. the short internal dialogue at 1.5.7.

and passion) is widespread in Greek thought, and not in itself remarkable; what is striking is that *L&C* celebrates the triumph of the passions, not of reason.

(c) Greeks and Phoenicians; Slave and Free

Achilles' primary models, Chariton's *Call.* and Xenophon of Ephesus' *A&H*, are set in Greek cities, from which the Greek protagonists hail and to which they return. *L&C* is not the first novel set in the Near East: the historical novels we know as *Ninus* and *Sesonchosis* (both probably first century CE) were located in Mesopotamia and Egypt respectively, and the settings for Lollianus' *Phoenician Affairs* and Iamblichus' *Babylonian Affairs* (second century CE) are indicated by the titles. These texts, however – which survive only in fragments and summaries – were (in so far as we can judge) not romances in the narrower sense. Achilles' choice of the Phoenician littoral as the backdrop for his tale must be seen as a deliberate and specific decision to recentre.

Sidon and Tyre were conquered by Alexander in 332 BCE, and by Achilles' time, half a millennium later, were Hellenised cities. Acculturation, however, as it always does, concealed a complex mixture of adaptation, hybridisation, conservatism and hypercorrection.[209] The Phoenician language (a Semitic tongue related to Hebrew) just about survived, but it had largely been displaced by Greek. Nevertheless, a form of Phoenician 'classicism' existed in Achilles' day, albeit mediated by the Greek tradition. Philo of Byblos, an approximate contemporary of Achilles', wrote a work that claimed to be a translation into Greek of a text composed by an author called Sanchuniathon, said to have lived before the Trojan War.[210] There was a particular fascination with the Phoenician writing system, which the Greeks believed (rightly) to be older than and the root of their own: Dictys of Crete's *Ephemeris* (which survives primarily in a Latin translation of the Greek original), for example, claims to be based on a discovered archaic text written in Phoenician letters.[211]

The identities of Leucippe and Clitophon are complex and tangled. For much of *L&C*, the protagonists act as if, culturally speaking, they are straightforwardly Greek: in particular, the explicit allusions the characters share (e.g. in Clinias' misogynist catalogue at 1.8.4–8) are all drawn from

[209] See esp. Aubert 2003 (on Beirut) and Apicella 2003 (on Sidon).
[210] Philo of Byblos *BNJ* 790 F 1–4.
[211] Dict. Cret. *praef.* The author may conceivably mean the Phoenician language, but the context suggests the Greek language written in the Phoenician script.

the Greek literary tradition. Clitophon does mention specific features of (alleged) Tyrian epichoric culture – the story of the invention of wine at 2.2, that of the discovery of purple dye at 2.11.4, and the tradition that a nearby islet is the tomb of Rhodope (2.17.3) – but he presents them as though he were an ethnographic outsider reporting local beliefs in the Herodotean mode, and without committing to them: 'so goes the Tyrians' account' (ὡς ὁ Τυρίων λόγος, 2.2.6); 'the Tyrians have a myth . . .' (μυθολογοῦσι Τύριοι, 2.11.4); 'the Tyrians say . . .' (οἱ Τύριοι λέγουσιν, 2.17.3). He does, however, introduce himself as Phoenician 'by γένος' (1.3.1). Similarly Menelaus introduces himself as Egyptian 'by γένος' (2.33.2–3); to this, Clitophon replies that he and Clinias are Phoenicians. (No one in *L&C* refers to her- or himself, or any other character, as 'Greek' – though Leucippe might have defined herself as such if anyone had cared to ask her.) But what does γένος imply in these cases? That one's ancestral roots lie in the area, or that one's family is (currently) based there? Clitophon tells us at 1.3.1 that his father κατώικει in Tyre. If this verb means 'settled', it might imply that he was not native to the city, but there is reason to think it means 'dwelled' (i.e. marking the contrast with his Byzantium-based half-brother): at 2.14.5, Leucippe's father Sostratus (the half-brother in question, who shares a father with Clitophon's father) implies an ancestral connection to Tyre (cf. παρ' ἡμῖν; see also 2.14.6n.). The overall impression is that both Clitophon's family and Leucippe's (on her father's side) come from Tyre, but that they also participate both culturally and dynastically in a translocal Hellenism (hence Clitophon's paternal grandfather marrying both a Tyrian and a Byzantine: 1.3.1).

Other references to Phoenician religion point to the same doubleness: cult sites are understood both as embedded in their local context and as translatable, via *interpretatio Graeca*, into a pan-Mediterranean religious *koinē*. At 2.14.1–2, the oracle received by the Byzantines alludes to 'Heracles at Tyre'. Heracles was in this period understood to be the Greek equivalent of the Tyrian Melqart (or Milqart).[212] The oracle, with its disguised reference to flaming trees, echoes a foundation myth of Tyre (2.14.1n.; 2.14.4n.). More conspicuously, at the very opening of the romance, the frame-narrator visits the temple of Astarte at Sidon to dedicate offerings in thanks for his salvation from the storm (1.1.2). Astarte – the Hebrew Bible's Canaanite goddess Ashtoreth, a relative of the Babylonian Ištar – was the presiding deity of Sidon, and arguably the most important Phoenician deity of all.[213] In her archaic form she was a goddess of the sea and (along with her consort, Baal) the sky, and of fertility,

[212] Lipiński 1995: 225–43.
[213] Bloch-Smith 2014; Lipiński 1995: 128–44.

war and hunting. From at least the tenth century BCE onwards she was the major Phoenician goddess. This temple is mentioned in Phoenician inscriptions between the eighth and fifth centuries BCE;[214] the evidence of Achilles, coupled with Lucian's reference to the great temple (ἱρὸν . . . μέγα) of Astarte (*De Dea Syria* 4), suggests that it was still flourishing in the second century CE.[215]

It has been argued by Daniel Selden that the ecphrastic description of Europa on the bull represents a Greek misreading by the frame-narrator of a Phoenician painting that 'really' depicts Astarte's domination of the sea, figuratively represented as the bull-god Baal.[216] Selden bases his claim in part on Clitophon's later comparison of Leucippe to a picture he once saw of Selene on the bull (1.4.2) – Astarte being widely associated with the moon – and he notes that Ugaritic poetry of the second millennium BCE represents the goddess Anat coupling with a bull on the shore. In addition, Phoenician art depicts the goddess Atargatis standing or seated on a bull, an iconography that Selden takes to refer to the dominance of the female over the male god. The posited misreading is thus fundamental and appropriative: some ancient readers, Selden argues, will have recognised that the 'original' Phoenician painting was in fact about female domination over male disorder, not about the rapist god Zeus forcibly abducting Europa.

Selden's interpretation has not won over all readers;[217] among the problems (see also 1.4.3n.) are the hypotheses that the goddesses Anat, Asherah, Astarte and Atargatis were functionally identical and that their mythology remained broadly constant over two millennia, and the absence in *L&C* of any explicit marking of the frame-narrator as Greek rather than Phoenician. Yet he points in the right direction: setting the ecphrasis in a temple of Astarte (1.1.2n.) is a bold move that adds a marked west-Asian flavour to the scene, and invites all kinds of 'overinterpretation'. In the fragmentary Egyptian story known as 'Astarte and the Tribute of the Sea', the goddess comes to the shore singing and laughing, and Sea accepts her offering, before demanding her too as a tribute; Baal fights Sea to recover her (*ANET* 17–18). Versions of that story seem to have been told also in Ugarit and Mari; it may even be reflected in the Greek myth of Andromeda and Perseus.[218] The connection to bulls also seems secure. At Citium worshippers of Astarte could wear bull masks, apparently to express their adoption of the bull's head as an emblem of power.[219]

[214] Bloch-Smith 2014: 182–4.
[215] See further Lightfoot 2003: 297–301.
[216] Selden 1994: 49–51.
[217] See e.g. Lightfoot 2003: 209.
[218] Smith 1994: 23–4.
[219] Bloch-Smith 2014: 170.

This evidence (which could be augmented) is inevitably suggestive rather than probative, but it gestures towards the conclusion that Achilles seems to be hinting to his readers that an authentic Phoenician myth underlies the frame-narrator's confident identification of the subject unequivocally with Europa. Whether we are to imagine a unified, coherent Phoenician 'meaning' for the painting, however, is less clear: as an Alexandrian, Achilles may have had little more information about the complexities of Sidonian mythology than we do now. The point, rather, is that *L&C* opens with a culturally disorientating move, a reminder that there is more than one way to tell a story. First-person narration ('homodiegesis') inevitably narrows the narratorial field of vision, incorporating some perspectives but excluding many more. Achilles compensates for this by reminding his readers from the start that the same narrative elements can be presented in more than one way, depending on the interpreter.

The story of *L&C* could have been told very differently by Leucippe, by Clinias (who prefers males), or by one of the sub-elite Tyrians we hear of but never encounter directly. There is one other class of people who appear prominently in this story, and whose perspective is only glimpsed: slaves. In Books 1 and 2 we hear of very many slaves, of which the three most important classes are: (i) the 'helper' slaves Satyrus and Clio; (ii) the 'blocker' slave Conops; (iii) the metaphorical slaves to Eros, Clinias and Clitophon himself. Satyrus and Clio appear in the narrative without warning, apparently because they are not deemed worthy of the kind of introduction afforded to Clinias, Callisthenes or Menelaus (1.16.1n.). Slaves are not fully people: at 2.10.1, Leucippe is said to be 'alone', even though she has Clio with her. Clitophon has visited sex-workers, but still counts himself as 'uninitiated' before he has slept with a free woman (2.37.5; 1.2.2n.). In terms of characterisation, Clio and Satyrus are at one level two-dimensional, generic types: Satyrus in particular has much of the *servus callidus* of New Comedy about him. But there is a little more to them than this: Leucippe's relationship with Clio seems close and affectionate (2.7.1–3), and Clio is boldly insistent that she wants to escape with the others (2.26.3). She is, however, unceremoniously bundled away at 2.27, and disappears. Satyrus apparently remains with Clitophon to the very end. He plays an important role in Book 5 by carrying letters between Clitophon and the newly reappeared Leucippe, but thereafter he dwindles: in Book 6 he is mentioned only as part of the company (6.1.2, 6.14.1, 6.15.1); in Book 7 he is named but once, and again in company (7.6.6); in Book 8 he is not mentioned at all.

The household is a place of casual violence towards slaves: at 1.6.5 Clitophon reports having verbally abused an unnamed slave (Satyrus?) for the crime of waking him and spoiling his dream. When Pantheia

discovers that Leucippe's bedroom has been infiltrated, her first reaction is to beat Clio around the head (2.24.1). It is taken for granted that she will be tortured for information (2.25.3, 2.26.3, 2.28.1).

Conops embodies all the negative stereotypes of the slave: he is 'inquisitive, garrulous, gluttonous and whatever else you might call him' (2.20.1; cf. 2.23.1). This kind of abusive description is common in slave-owning societies: it serves both to justify the subordination of a 'lesser' class of person and to invalidate what a more sympathetic observer might see as authentic problems faced by slaves (the impossible task of policing the behaviour of members of the household over whom one has no authority; the hunger that comes with deprivation). The exchange between Conops and Satyrus (2.20–2), however, is a rare and fascinating insight into the modes of communication that may have been adopted by slaves with different allegiances. Rather than speaking directly to each other, they insinuate indirectly, using jokes and allegorical fables (the supposed originator of which, Aesop, was himself a slave). Explicit talk is, presumably, too dangerous; instead, they exchange smiles and stories in which the innuendo (τὸ ὕπουλον, 2.21.5) is unmistakeable. (This tactic is strikingly close to the lovers' use of implicit communication: see Section 6(a).) They employ, that is to say, what the social historian James Scott has called 'hidden transcripts'.[220] In general, *L&C* is an underexploited source for the social history of Greco-Roman slavery, for which (in the words of Keith Hopkins) 'fiction occupies a privileged position'.[221]

The application of metaphors of slavery to lovers takes on a new vividness in the context of a slave-owning household. Clitophon tells us that he used to tease Clinias as a 'slave of erotic pleasure' (1.7.2), but he admits that he too has been enslaved. Charicles suggests that his father's insistence that he marry the daughter of a rich man is a form of enslavement (1.7.5; cf. 1.8.1, 1.8.9). At 2.4.4, Satyrus advises Clitophon to address Leucippe as his 'mistress', as a slave would an owner; this he proceeds to do (2.6.2). This discourse may be borrowed from the Roman elegiac motif of *servitium amoris* (Section 4(a)). The contrast between the metaphorical violence of desire and the literal violence meted out to slaves might be thought to expose the unempathetic callousness of Clitophon's perspective. These metaphors will become literalised in the course of the novel: Leucippe will indeed be enslaved and beaten, and Clitophon will be imprisoned and face the prospect of torture. For the protagonists such forms of humiliation and bodily subjection are only temporary, and their

[220] Scott 1990.
[221] Hopkins 1993: 12.

elite status will be regained – while Clio and Satyrus simply vanish, with no more ceremony than they received when they first appeared. Once again, the reader is left with a strong sense that Clitophon's is not the only possible perspective upon these events.

7 TEXT

The text in this volume is my own, but it rests upon others' labours and palaeographical reports. In line with the principles of the series, I have constructed only a limited apparatus criticus, reporting major, plausible and/or noteworthy variants and conjectures, and my own deviations.

L&C is transmitted in two manuscript families, known since Vilborg as α and β. α is represented principally by three surviving MSS, known as W, M and D (full details of these and other MSS and papyri are given in the following section, 'Sigla'). For β too there are three surviving witnesses: V, G and E. An additional MS, known as F, is an outlier, and its value is disputed.[222] We also have fragments of seven[223] ancient papyrus texts, dating from the second and third centuries CE. Six of these were known to earlier editors.[224] The majority of these come from rolls; Π² and Π³ are from codices. No parchment fragments are presently known.

'The tradition of Achilles,' writes Michael Reeve, 'for all its richness, seethes with corruption.'[225] The major challenges for those seeking to produce a text of *L&C* lie in (i) reconciling the discrepancies between α and β (and indeed F), and (ii) reconciling the differences between the papyri and the MSS. As to (i), editors take different views: Vilborg tends to give precedence to β, and Garnaud to α, but there is no good reason to prefer one or the other systematically, and I have used my judgement throughout. As to (ii), it is tempting to treat papyri as more authoritative, but the disparities between these and the MSS can be great. This is acute in the case of Book 2, where *P.Oxy.* 1250 offers not just different readings but a different order of events: as a result, the two meals/symposia that

[222] Garnaud's edition makes use of a number of other late MSS, including two not known to previous editors: *Sinaiticus Gr.* 1197 (sixteenth century, containing Books 5–8) and *Olomucensis M* 79 (fifteenth century, containing excerpts from all books apart from 3 and 7). See Garnaud 1991: xxii–iii. The contribution of these MSS is slight.

[223] Treating Π⁶ as part of Π¹.

[224] On the tangled story of the emergence of Achillean papyri see Garnaud 1991: xxiii–xxv; Consonni 2006: 115–16; Henrichs 2011: 306–7. I use the conventional enumeration of the papyri, with the addition of the recently published *P.Oxy.* 4948.

[225] Reeve 1971: 525.

are (in the MSS version) separated by ten days become fused into one. *P.Schubart* 30 and *P.Oxy.* 4948 also offer readings that diverge from the transmitted text, if less spectacularly so.[226]

These uncertainties have led to talk of a fluid text, liable to reshaping in transmission (as, for example, in the extreme cases of the *Alexander Romance* and the *Life of Aesop*).[227] Another possible sign of this posited fluidity is the stray sentence (deleted by editors since Jacobs) found at the end of Book 1: 'And after a while it was time for dinner, and once again we set about drinking in the same way' (1.19.3). This sentence interrupts the narrative sequence in the transmitted text, where Book 2 opens with Leucippe's *cithara* performance that Clitophon and Satyrus had set out to hear immediately prior to the deleted sentence. It is particularly striking that this intrusion, like *P.Oxy.* 1250, points to a sympotic episode, of which there are already three in Books 1–2 of our transmitted text: perhaps it is these liquid scenes that were most textually fluid.

Naturally, this variation poses a challenge to editors. The papyri are older and closer to Achilles' own time; these are the very texts that real readers used. Yet we have only glimpses of these texts, and any mechanical attempt to fuse the papyri with the MSS risks creating a hybrid text, neither fish nor fowl. Once again, therefore, I have used my own judgement, giving weight to the papyri where possible, but resisting them where they risk introducing inconsistencies with the text transmitted by the MSS.

[226] In particular, a gap in *P.Oxy.* 4948 at 2.37.9 (between πρὸς δὲ τό and γυνή) is too small to accommodate the text of the MSS: see Obbink and Trnka-Amrhein 2009: 120, 122.

[227] Sanz Morales 2006.

SIGLA

1 PAPYRI

Π^1 *P.Oxy.* 1250 + 3837, probably third century.
P.Oxy. 1250: a continuous, non-fragmentary passage that offers an intriguingly different order of events from that transmitted in the MSS. It runs from what in our text is 2.7.7 (δέομαι) to the end of 2.8.3. It then adds the sentence ἑσπέρας δὲ γενομένης πάλι (*sic*) ὁμοίως συνεπίνομεν, before interleaving 2.2.1 (ἦν γάρ) to 2.3.2 (γεωργῆι). It then returns to our 2.9.1 (from Ἐπειδὴ δέ) to 2.9.3. *P.Oxy.* 3837 (formerly known as Π^6), written by the same scribe and probably from a different roll of the same edition: fragments of Book 8.6.14–7.6.

Π^2 *P.Schubart* 30 = *P.Berol.* inv. 16971, re-edited by Poethke 2002; cf. also Savino 2009; probably third century; long considered lost but recently rediscovered: fragments of 2.2.3–5, 2.11.8–12.1 and 2.14.5–7.

Π^3 *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.124, second or third century: fragments of 6.14.1–15.3 and 6.16.6–17.3.

Π^4 *P.Duk. inv.* 772 + *P.Colon. inv.* 901 (see Willis 1990), third century: fragments of 3.17–24.

Π^5 *P.Oxy.* 3836, second century: discontinuous fragments of 3.21–3.

Π^6 *P.Oxy.* 3837, probably third century, now associated with Π^1: fragments of 8.6.14–7.6.

Π^7 *P.Oxy.* 1014, third century; recognised as Achillean by Gronewald 1976: fragments of 4.14.2–5.

Π^8 *P.Oxy.* 4948, third century: fragments of 2.37.8–10, 2.38.4.

2 MANUSCRIPTS

W *Vat. Gr.* 1349, twelfth century

M *Marc. Gr.* 409, thirteenth century

D *Vat. Gr.* 914, fourteenth century: contains only parts of Books 1–4

V *Vat. Gr.* 114, thirteenth century

G *Marc. Gr.* 607, fifteenth century

E *Ambr. Gr.* 394, fifteenth–sixteenth centuries

F *Laur. C.S.* 627, thirteenth century

3 SCHOLARLY CONJECTURES

Berger: reported in Boden 1776
Boden: Boden 1776
Cobet: adopted in Hirschig 1856
Dawe: Dawe 2001
Diggle: Diggle 1972
Garnaud: Garnaud 1991
Göttling: reported in Jacobs 1821
Grenfell–Hunt: *P.Oxy.* 1250
Guyet: reported in Jacobs 1821
Headlam: Headlam 1895
Hercher: Hercher 1858–9
Jackson: Jackson 1935
Jacobs[1]: Jacobs 1814
Jacobs[2]: Jacobs 1821
Laplace[1]: Laplace 1980
Laplace[2]: Laplace 1983a
Laplace[3]: Laplace 1983b
Lumb: Lumb 1920
Naber: Naber 1876
O'Sullivan: O'Sullivan 1978 (cf. 1982: see *References and Abbreviations*)
Poethke: Poethke 2002
Reeve: Reeve 1971
Salmasius: reported in Boden 1776 and Jacobs 1821
Schubart: see *References and Abbreviations, P.Schubart*
Valckenaer: unpublished notes in *Codex MS. Lugdunensis* B. P. L. 407 f. 3 (reported by Vilborg 1955, Garnaud 1991 *et al.*)
Vilborg: Vilborg 1955 (and 1962)
Wyttenbach: Wyttenbach 1779

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ ΤΑΤΙΟΥ ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΙΤΟΦΩΝΤΑ Α'–Β'

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ ΤΑΤΙΟΥ ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΕΙΤΟΦΩΝΤΑ

ΛΟΓΟΣ Α'

Σιδὼν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις· Ἀσσυρίων ἡ θάλασσα· μήτηρ Φοινίκων **1**
ἡ πόλις· Θηβαίων ὁ δῆμος πατήρ. δίδυμος λιμὴν ἐν κόλπωι πλατύς,
ἠρέμα κλείων τὸ πέλαγος· ἦι γὰρ ὁ κόλπος κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ
κοιλαίνεται, στόμα δεύτερον ὀρώρυκται, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὖθις εἰσρεῖ, καὶ
γίνεται τοῦ λιμένος ἄλλος λιμήν, ὡς χειμάζειν μὲν ταύτῃ τὰς ὁλκάδας
ἐν γαλήνῃ, θερίζειν δὲ τοῦ λιμένος εἰς τὸ προκόλπιον. ἐνταῦθα ἥκων ἐκ **2**
πολλοῦ χειμῶνος σῶστρα ἔθυον ἐμαυτοῦ τῆι τῶν Φοινίκων· καλοῦσιν
αὐτὴν Ἀστάρτην οἱ Σιδώνιοι. περιϊὼν οὖν καὶ τὸν αὐλῆς περίβολον
καὶ περισκοπῶν τὰ ἀναθήματα ὁρῶ γραφὴν ἀνακειμένην γῆς ἅμα καὶ
θαλάσσης. Εὐρώπης ἡ γραφή· Φοινίκων ἡ θάλασσα· Σιδῶνος ἡ γῆ. ἐν τῆι **3**
γῆι λειμὼν καὶ χορὸς παρθένων· ἐν τῆι θαλάττῃ ταῦρος ἐπενήχετο, καὶ
τοῖς νώτοις καλὴ παρθένος ἐπεκάθητο, ἐπὶ Κρήτην τῶι ταύρωι πλέουσα.
ἐκόμα πολλοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὁ λειμών· δένδρων αὐτοῖς ἀνεμέμικτο φάλαγξ καὶ
φυτῶν. συνεχῆ τὰ δένδρα· συνηρεφῆ τὰ πέταλα· συνῆπτον οἱ πτόρθοι
τὰ φύλλα, καὶ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὄροφος ἡ τῶν φύλλων συμπλοκή.
ἔγραψεν ὁ τεχνίτης ὑπὸ τὰ πέταλα καὶ τὴν σκιάν, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἠρέμα τοῦ **4**
λειμῶνος κάτω σποράδην διέρρει, ὅσον τὸ συνηρεφὲς τῆς τῶν φύλλων
κόμης ἀνέωιξεν ὁ γραφεύς. ὅλον ἐτείχιζε τὸν λειμῶνα περιβολή· εἴσω δὲ **5**
τοῦ τῶν ὀρόφων στεφανώματος ὁ λειμὼν ἐκάθητο. αἱ δὲ πρασιαὶ τῶν
ἀνθέων ὑπὸ τὰ πέταλα τῶν φυτῶν στοιχηδὸν ἐπεφύκεσαν, νάρκισσος
καὶ ῥόδα καὶ μυρρίναι. ὕδωρ κατὰ μέσον ἔρρει τοῦ λειμῶνος τῆς γραφῆς,
τὸ μὲν ἀναβλύζον κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσι καὶ τοῖς
φυτοῖς περιχεόμενον. ὀχετηγός τις ἐγέγραπτο δίκελλαν κατέχων καὶ περὶ **6**
μίαν ἀμάραν κεκυφὼς καὶ ἀνοίγων τὴν ὁδὸν τῶι ῥεύματι. ἐν δὲ τῶι τοῦ
λειμῶνος τέλει πρὸς ταῖς ἐπὶ θάλατταν τῆς γῆς ἐκβολαῖς τὰς παρθένους
ἔταξεν ὁ τεχνίτης. τὸ σχῆμα ταῖς παρθένοις καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ φόβου. **7**
στέφανοι περὶ τοῖς μετώποις δεδεμένοι· κόμαι κατὰ τῶν ὤμων λελυμέναι·
τὸ σκέλος ἅπαν γεγυμνωμέναι, τὸ μὲν ἄνω τοῦ χιτῶνος, τὸ δὲ κάτω τοῦ
πεδίλου· τὸ γὰρ ζῶσμα μέχρι γόνατος ἀνεῖλκε τὸν χιτῶνα. τὸ πρόσωπον

1.1 Ἀσσυρίων codd. : Συρίων Vilborg 1.2 post Φοινίκων add. θεᾶι F Ἀφροδίτηι Diggle τὸν αὐλῆς περίβολον scripsi : τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν codd. 1.4 τοῦ λειμῶνος κάτω codd. : κατὰ τοῦ λειμῶνος O'Sullivan 1.5 στοιχηδὸν VE : στιχηδὸν WMD G F

ὠχραί· σεσηρυῖαι τὰς παρειάς· τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίξασαι πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν· μικρὸν ὑποκεχηνυῖαι τὸ στόμα, ὥσπερ ἀφήσειν ὑπὸ φόβου
8 μέλλουσαι καὶ βοήν· τὰς χεῖρας ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν βοῦν ὄρεγον. ἐπέβαινον ἄκρας τῆς θαλάττης, ὅσον ὑπεράνω μικρὸν τῶν ταρσῶν ὑπερέχειν τὸ κῦμα· ἐῴκεσαν δὲ βούλεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον δραμεῖν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ τῇι θαλάττηι προσελθεῖν. τῆς δὲ θαλάττης ἡ χροιὰ διπλῆ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς
9 τὴν γῆν ὑπέρυθρον, κυάνεον δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος. ἀφρὸς ἐπεποίητο καὶ πέτραι καὶ κύματα· αἱ πέτραι τῆς γῆς ὑπερβεβλημέναι, ὁ ἀφρὸς περιλευκαίνων τὰς πέτρας, τὸ κῦμα κορυφούμενον καὶ περὶ τὰς πέτρας λυόμενον εἰς τοὺς ἀφρούς. ταῦρος ἐν μέσηι τῆι θαλάττηι ἐγέγραπτο τοῖς κύμασιν ἐποχούμενος, ὡς ὄρους ἀναβαίνοντος τοῦ κύματος,
10 ἔνθα καμπτόμενον τοῦ βοὸς κυρτοῦται τὸ σκέλος. ἡ παρθένος μέσοις ἐπεκάθητο τοῖς νώτοις τοῦ βοός, οὐ περιβάδην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πλευράν, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ συμβᾶσα τὼ πόδε, τῆι λαιᾶι τοῦ κέρως ἐχομένη, ὥσπερ ἡνίοχος χαλινοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ βοῦς ἐπέστραπτο ταύτηι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ τῆς χειρὸς ἕλκον ἡνιοχούμενος. χιτὼν ἀμφὶ τὰ στέρνα τῆς παρθένου μέχρις αἰδοῦς· τοὐντεῦθεν ἐπεκάλυπτε χλαῖνα τὰ κάτω τοῦ σώματος. λευκὸς ὁ χιτών·
11 ἡ χλαῖνα πορφυρᾶ· τὸ δὲ σῶμα διὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ὑπεφαίνετο. βαθὺς ὀμφαλός· γαστὴρ τεταμένη· λαπάρα στενή· τὸ στενὸν εἰς ἰξὺν καταβαῖνον ηὐρύνετο. μαζοὶ τῶν στέρνων ἠρέμα προκύπτοντες· ἡ συνάγουσα ζώνη τὸν χιτῶνα καὶ τοὺς μαζοὺς ἔκλειε, καὶ ἐγίνετο τοῦ σώματος κάτοπτρον ὁ
12 χιτών. αἱ χεῖρες ἄμφω διετέταντο, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ κέρας, ἡ δὲ ἐπ' οὐράν· ἤρτητο δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἑκατέρωθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡ καλύπτρα κύκλωι τῶν νώτων ἐμπεπετασμένη· ὁ δὲ κόλπος τοῦ πέπλου πάντοθεν ἐτέτατο κυρτούμενος· καὶ ἦν οὗτος ἄνεμος τοῦ ζωγράφου. ἡ δὲ δίκην ἐπεκάθητο τῶι ταύρωι
13 πλεούσης νηός, ὥσπερ ἱστίωι τῶι πέπλωι χρωμένη. περὶ δὲ τὸν βοῦν ὠρχοῦντο δελφῖνες, ἔπαιζον Ἔρωτες· εἶπες ἂν αὐτῶν ἐγγεγράφθαι καὶ τὰ κινήματα. Ἔρως εἶλκε τὸν βοῦν· Ἔρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἡπλώκει τὸ πτερόν, ἤρτητο φαρέτραν, ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ· μετέστραπτο δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Δία καὶ ὑπεμειδία, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ καταγελῶν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν γέγονε βοῦς.

2 Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὲν ἐπήινουν τῆς γραφῆς, ἅτε δὲ ὢν ἐρωτικὸς περιεργότερον ἔβλεπον τὸν ἄγοντα τὸν βοῦν [Ἔρωτα]· καί "οἷον" εἶπον "ἄρχει βρέφος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης." ταῦτά μου λέγοντος νεανίσκος καὶ αὐτὸς παρεστὼς "ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἂν εἰδείην" ἔφη "τοσαύτας ὕβρεις ἐξ Ἔρωτος παθών." "καὶ τί πέπονθας," εἶπον "ὦ ἀγαθέ; καὶ γὰρ
2 ὁρῶ σου τὴν ὄψιν οὐ μακρὰν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τελετῆς." "σμῆνος ἀνεγείρεις"

1.11 ἰξὺν W : ὀξὺ cett. 2.1 Ἔρωτα del. Dawe παθών WMD : ζέων παθῶν G : ζέων VE

εἶπε "λόγων· τὰ γὰρ ἐμὰ μύθοις ἔοικε." "μὴ κατοκνήσηις, ὦ βέλτιστε," ἔφην "πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἔρωτος αὐτοῦ, ταύτηι μᾶλλον ἥσειν εἰ καὶ μύθοις ἔοικε." καὶ ταῦτα δὴ λέγων δεξιοῦμαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπί τινος 3
ἄλσους ἄγω γείτονος, ἔνθα πλάτανοι μὲν ἐπεφύκεσαν πολλαὶ καὶ πυκναί, παρέρρει δὲ ὕδωρ ψυχρόν τε καὶ διαυγές, οἷον ἀπὸ χιόνος ἄρτι λυθείσης ἔρχεται. καθίσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπί τινος θώκου χαμαιζήλου καὶ αὐτὸς παρακαθισάμενος "ὥρα σοι" ἔφην "τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀκροάσεως· πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδὺς καὶ μύθων ἄξιος ἐρωτικῶν."

3 Ὁ δὲ ἄρχεται λέγειν ὧδε· ἐμοὶ Φοινίκη γένος, Τύρος ἡ πατρίς, ὄνομα Κλειτοφῶν, πατὴρ Ἱππίας· ἀδελφὸς πατρὸς Σώστρατος, οὐ πάντα δὲ ἀδελφός, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀμφοῖν εἷς πατήρ· αἱ γὰρ μητέρες, τῶι μὲν ἦν Βυζαντία, τῶι δὲ ἐμῶι πατρὶ Τυρία. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὸν πάντα χρόνον εἶχεν ἐν Βυζαντίωι· πολὺς γὰρ ὁ τῆς μητρὸς κλῆρος ἦν αὐτῶι· ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἐν Τύρωι κατώικει. τὴν δὲ μητέρα οὐκ οἶδα τὴν ἐμήν· ἐπὶ νηπίωι γάρ 2
μοι τέθνηκεν. ἐδέησεν οὖν τῶι πατρὶ γυναικὸς ἑτέρας, ἐξ ἧς ἀδελφή μοι Καλλιγόνη γίνεται. καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν τῶι πατρὶ συνάψαι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς γάμωι· αἱ δὲ Μοῖραι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρείττονες ἄλλην ἐτήρουν μοι γυναῖκα. φιλεῖ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον πολλάκις ἀνθρώποις τὸ μέλλον νύκτωρ λαλεῖν, οὐχ ἵνα φυλάξωνται μὴ παθεῖν (οὐ γὰρ εἱμαρμένης δύνανται κρατεῖν), ἀλλ' ἵνα κουφότερον πάσχοντες φέρωσι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξαίφνης ἀθρόον καὶ 3
ἀπροσδόκητον ἐκπλήσσει τὴν ψυχὴν ἄφνω προσπεσὸν καὶ κατεβάπτισε, τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν προσδοκώμενον προκατηνάλωσε κατὰ μικρὸν μελετώμενον τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἀκμήν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἶχον ἔνατον ἔτος ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς νέωτα ποιήσων τοὺς γάμους, ἤρχετο τοῦ δράματος ἡ Τύχη. ὄναρ ἐδόκουν συμφῦναι τῆι παρθένωι τὰ κάτω 4
μέρη μέχρις ὀμφαλοῦ, δύο δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τὰ ἄνω σώματα. ἐφίσταταί δή μοι γυνὴ φοβερὰ καὶ μεγάλη, τὸ πρόσωπον ἀγρία· ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν αἵματι, βλοσυραὶ παρειαί, ὄφεις αἱ κόμαι. ἅρπην ἐκράτει τῆι δεξιᾶι, δᾶιδα τῆι λαιᾶι. ἐπιπεσοῦσα οὖν μοι θυμῶι καὶ ἀνατείνασα τὴν ἅρπην καταφέρει τῆς ἰξύος, ἔνθα τῶν δύο σωμάτων ἦσαν αἱ συμβολαί, καὶ ἀποκόπτει μου τὴν παρθένον. περιδεὴς οὖν ἀναθορὼν ἐκ τοῦ δείματος φράζω μὲν πρὸς οὐδένα, 5
κατ' ἐμαυτὸν δὲ πονηρὰ ἐσκεπτόμην. ἐν δὲ τούτωι συμβαίνει τοιάδε. ἦν ἀδελφός, ὡς ἔφην, τοῦ πατρὸς Σώστρατος. παρὰ τούτου τις ἔρχεται κομίζων ἐπιστολὴν ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου, καὶ ἦν τὰ γεγραμμένα τοιάδε· "Ἱππίαι 6
τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν Σώστρατος. ἥκουσι πρὸς σὲ θυγάτηρ ἐμὴ Λευκίππη καὶ Πάνθεια γυνή· πόλεμος γὰρ περιελαύνει Βυζαντίους Θραικικός. σῶζε δή μοι τὰ φίλτατα τοῦ γένους μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τύχης."

2.2 ἥσειν VE : ὀνήσειν WMD G : ὀνήσει Laplace[1] : ἥσεις Hunter per litt.

4 Ταῦτα ὁ πατὴρ ἀναγνοὺς ἀναπηδᾶι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκτρέχει καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον αὖθις ἐπανῆκεν. εἴποντο δὲ αὐτῶι κατόπιν πολὺ πλῆθος οἰκετῶν καὶ θεραπαινίδων, ἃς συνεκπέμψας ὁ Σώστρατος ἔτυχε ταῖς γυναιξίν. ἐν μέσοις δὲ ἦν γυνὴ μεγάλη καὶ πλουσία τῆι στολῆι. 2 ὡς δὲ ἐνέτεινα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατ᾽ αὐτήν, ἐν ἀριστερᾶι παρθένος ἐκφαίνεταί μοι καὶ καταστράπτει μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶι προσώπωι. 3 τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγώ ποτε ἐπὶ ταύρωι γεγραμμένην Σελήνην· ὄμμα γοργὸν ἐν ἡδονῆι· κόμη ξανθή, τὸ ξανθὸν οὖλον· ὀφρὺς μέλαινα, τὸ μέλαν ἄκρατον· λευκὴ παρειά, τὸ λευκὸν εἰς μέσον ἐφοινίσσετο καὶ ἐμιμεῖτο πορφύραν, οἵαι †εἰς τὸν† ἐλέφαντα Λυδίη βάπτει γυνή· τὸ στόμα ῥόδων 4 ἄνθος ἦν, ὅταν ἄρχηται τὸ ῥόδον ἀνοίγειν τῶν φύλλων τὰ χείλη. ὡς δὲ εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλειν· κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῶι 5 τραύματι. πάντα δέ με εἶχεν ὁμοῦ, ἔπαινος, ἔκπληξις, τρόμος, αἰδώς, ἀναίδεια. ἐπήινουν τὸ μέγεθος, ἐκπεπλήγμην τὸ κάλλος, ἔτρεμον τὴν καρδίαν, ἔβλεπον ἀναιδῶς, ἠιδούμην ἁλῶναι. τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀφέλκειν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κόρης ἐβιαζόμην· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνθεῖλκον ἑαυτοὺς ἐκεῖ τῶι τοῦ κάλλους ἑλκόμενοι πείσματι, καὶ τέλος ἐνίκησαν.

5 Αἱ μὲν δὴ κατήγοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ αὐταῖς ὁ πατὴρ μέρος τι τῆς οἰκίας ἀποτεμόμενος εὐτρεπίζει δεῖπνον. καὶ ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἦν, συνεπίνομεν κατὰ δύο τὰς κλίνας διαλαχόντες (οὕτω γὰρ ἔταξεν ὁ πατήρ), αὐτὸς κἀγὼ τὴν μέσην, αἱ μητέρες αἱ δύο τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾶι· τὴν δεξιὰν εἶχον αἱ 2 παρθένοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ταύτην ἤκουσα τὴν εὐταξίαν, μικροῦ προσελθὼν τὸν πατέρα κατεφίλησα, ὅτι μου κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνέκλινε τὴν παρθένον. 3 τί μὲν οὖν ἔφαγον, μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἤιδειν· ἐώικειν γὰρ τοῖς ἐν ὀνείροις ἐσθίουσιν. ἐρείσας δὲ κατὰ τῆς στρωμνῆς τὸν ἀγκῶνα καὶ ἐγκλίνας ἐμαυτὸν ὅλοις ἔβλεπον τὴν κόρην τοῖς προσώποις, κλέπτων 4 ἅμα τὴν θέαν· τοῦτο γάρ μου τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν. ὡς δὲ ἦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, παῖς ἔρχεται κιθάραν ἁρμοσάμενος, τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκέτης, καὶ ψιλαῖς τὸ πρῶτον διατινάξας ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς χορδὰς ἔκρουε· καί τι κρουμάτιον ὑπολιγήνας ὑποψιθυρίζουσι τοῖς δακτύλοις, μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τῶι πλήκτρωι τὰς χορδὰς ἔκρουε καὶ ὀλίγον ὅσον κιθαρίσας συνῆιδε τοῖς 5 κρούμασι. τὸ δὲ ἆισμα ἦν Ἀπόλλων μεμφόμενος τὴν Δάφνην φεύγουσαν

4.1 εἴποντο VGE : εἴπετο WMD F 4.3 Σελήνην WMD F : Εὐρώπην VGE οἵαι †εἰς τὸν† scripsi (fort. οἵαι πριστὸν?) : οἵαν εἰς τὸν MD VGE F : οἷον εἰς τὸν W : οἵαν τὸν Wifstrand : εἰς οἵαν τὸν Vilborg : οἵαι τις τὸν O'Sullivan Λυδίη MD VE : Λυδία W F : Λυβύη G 5.3 δεῖπνον ἦν G : post μου transp. ἦν WMD VE 5.4 παῖς ἔρχεται WMD VE F : παρέρχεται G

καὶ διώκων ἅμα καὶ μέλλων καταλαμβάνειν, καὶ γινομένη φυτὸν ἡ κόρη, καὶ Ἀπόλλων τὸ φυτὸν στεφανούμενος. τοῦτό μοι μᾶλλον ἄισθὲν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξέκαυσεν· ὑπέκκαυμα γὰρ ἐπιθυμίας λόγος ἐρωτικός. κἂν εἰς 6
σωφροσύνην τις ἑαυτὸν νουθετῇ, τῶι παραδείγματι πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν ἐρεθίζεται, μάλισθ' ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος ἦι τὸ παράδειγμα· ἡ γὰρ ὧν ἁμαρτάνει τις αἰδὼς τῶι τοῦ βελτίονος ἀξιώματι παρρησία γίνεται. καὶ 7
ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἔλεγον· "ἰδοὺ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐρᾶι, κἀκεῖνος παρθένου, καὶ ἐρῶν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται, ἀλλὰ διώκει τὴν παρθένον· σὺ δὲ ὀκνεῖς καὶ αἰδῆι καὶ ἀκαίρως σωφρονεῖς· μὴ κρείττων εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ;"

6 Ὡς δὲ ἦν ἑσπέρα, πρότεραι μὲν πρὸς ὕπνον ἐτράπησαν αἱ γυναῖκες, μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἡμεῖς· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι τῆι γαστρὶ μετρήσαντες τὴν ἡδονήν, ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν εὐωχίαν ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς φέρων τῶν τε τῆς κόρης προσώπων γεμισθεὶς καὶ ἀκράτωι θεάματι καὶ μέχρι κόρου προελθὼν ἀπῆλθον μεθύων ἔρωτι. ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον παρῆλθον, ἔνθα μοι 2
καθεύδειν ἔθος ἦν, οὐδὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖν ἠδυνάμην. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τὰ ἄλλα νοσήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος τραύματα νυκτὶ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπανίσταται μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ ἐρεθίζει τὰς ἀλγηδόνας· ὅταν γὰρ ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἕλκος νοσεῖν· τὰ δὲ 3
τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα, μὴ κινουμένου τοῦ σώματος, πολὺ μᾶλλον ὀδυνᾶι. ἐν ἡμέραι μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα πολλῆς γεμιζόμενα περιεργίας ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀκμήν, ἀντιπεριάγοντα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς· ἂν δὲ ἡσυχίαι τὸ σῶμα πεδηθῆι, καθ' αὑτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη τῶι κακῶι κυμαίνεται. πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται τότε τὰ τέως 4
κοιμώμενα· τοῖς πενθοῦσιν αἱ λῦπαι, τοῖς μεριμνῶσιν αἱ φροντίδες, τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ φόβοι, τοῖς ἐρῶσι τὸ πῦρ. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἕω μόλις ἐλεήσας μέ τις ὕπνος ἀνέπαυσεν ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τότε μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπελθεῖν 5
ἤθελεν ἡ κόρη· πάντα γὰρ ἦν μοι Λευκίππη τὰ ἐνύπνια· διελεγόμην αὐτῆι, συνέπαιζον, συνεδείπνουν, ἥπτόμην, πλείονα εἶχον ἀγαθὰ τῆς ἡμέρας· καὶ γὰρ κατεφίλησα, καὶ ἦν τὸ φίλημα ἀληθινόν· ὥστε ἐπειδή με ἤγειρεν ὁ οἰκέτης, ἐλοιδορούμην αὐτῶι τῆς ἀκαιρίας, ἀπολέσας ὄνειρον οὕτω γλυκύν. ἀναστὰς οὖν ἐβάδιζον ἐξεπίτηδες εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ
πρόσωπον τῆς κόρης, βιβλίον ἅμα κρατῶν, καὶ ἐγκεκυφὼς ἀνεγίνωσκον· 6
τὸν δὲ ὀφθαλμόν, εἰ κατὰ τὰς θύρας γενοίμην, ὑπείλιττον κάτωθεν, καί τινας ἐμπεριπατήσας διαύλους καὶ ἐποχετευσάμενος ἐκ τῆς θέας ἔρωτα †σαφῶς† ἀπήιειν ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν κακῶς. καὶ ταῦτά μοι τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐπυρσεύετο.

6.2 οὐδὲ Jacobs[1] : οὔτε codd. 6.6 τὸν δὲ ὀφθαλμόν WMD : τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμούς VGE σαφῶς codd. : ἀψόφως Dawe (sed cf. 2.23.3, 2.31.3, 6.15.4) : οὕτως O'Sullivan

7 Ἦν δέ μοι Κλεινίας ἀνεψιός, ὀρφανὸς καὶ νέος, δύο ἀναβεβηκὼς ἔτη τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς ἐμῆς, Ἔρωτι τετελεσμένος· μειρακίου δὲ ὁ ἔρως ἦν. οὕτω δὲ εἶχε φιλοτιμίας πρὸς αὐτό ὥστε καὶ ἵππον πριάμενος, ἐπεὶ θεασάμενον τὸ μειράκιον ἐπήινεσεν, εὐθὺς ἐχαρίσατο φέρων αὐτῶι τὸν
2 ἵππον. ἔσκωπτον οὖν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τῆς ἀμεριμνίας, ὅτι σχολάζει φιλεῖν καὶ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἐρωτικῆς ἡδονῆς. ὁ δέ μοι μειδιῶν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
3 ἐπισείων ἔλεγεν· "ἐσηι καὶ σύ μοι ποτὲ δοῦλος." ταχὺ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπιὼν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος καὶ παρακαθισάμενος "ἔδωκα" ἔφην "Κλεινία, σοι δίκην τῶν σκωμμάτων. δοῦλος γέγονα κἀγώ." ἀνακροτήσας οὖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐξεγέλασε καὶ ἀναστὰς κατεφίλησέ μου τὸ πρόσωπον ἐμφαῖνον ἐρωτικὴν ἀγρυπνίαν· καί "ἐρᾶις," εἶπεν "ἐρᾶις ἀληθῶς· οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου λέγουσιν." ἄρτι δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ Χαρικλῆς εἰστρέχει (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῶι μειρακίωι) τεθορυβημένος "οἴχομαί σοι," λέγων "Κλεινία."
4 καὶ συνεστέναξεν ὁ Κλεινίας, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς κρεμάμενος· καὶ τῆι φωνῆι τρέμων "ἀποκτενεῖς" εἶπε "σιωπῶν· τί σε λυπεῖ; τίνι δεῖ μάχεσθαι;" καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς, "γάμον" εἶπεν "ὁ πατήρ μοι προξενεῖ, καὶ γάμον ἀμόρφου κόρης, ἵνα διπλῶι συνοικῶ τῶι κακῶι. πονηρὸν μὲν γὰρ γυνή, κἂν εὔμορφος ἦι· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀμορφίαν δυστυχῆι, τὸ κακὸν διπλοῦν.
5 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ὁ πατὴρ ἀποβλέπων σπουδάζει τὸ κῆδος. ἐκδίδομαι ὁ δυστυχὴς τοῖς ἐκείνης χρήμασιν, ἵνα γήμω πωλούμενος."

8 Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλεινίας, ὠχρίασεν. ἐπιπαρώξυνεν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον ἀποθέσθαι τὸν γάμον, τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν γένος λοιδορῶν. "γάμον" εἶπεν "ἤδη σοι δίδωσιν ὁ πατήρ; τί γὰρ ἠδίκησας, ἵνα καὶ
2 δεθῆις; οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ Διὸς λέγοντος

> τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δώσω κακόν, ὧι κεν ἅπαντες
> τέρπωνται κατὰ θυμόν, ἑὸν κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες;

αὕτη γυναικῶν ἡδονή, καὶ ἔοικε τῆι τῶν Σειρήνων φύσει· κἀκεῖναι γὰρ
3 ἡδονῆι φονεύουσιν ὠιδῆς. ἔστι δέ σοι συνιέναι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ γάμου παρασκευῆς· βόμβος αὐλῶν, δικλίδων κτύπος, πυρσῶν δαιδουχία. ἐρεῖ τις ἰδὼν τοσοῦτον κυδοιμόν· "ἀτυχὴς
4 ὁ μέλλων γαμεῖν· ἐπὶ πόλεμον, δοκῶ μοι, πέμπεται." ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἰδιώτης ἦσθα μουσικῆς, ἠγνόεις ἂν τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δράματα· νῦν δὲ κἂν ἄλλοις λέγοις ὅσων ἐνέπλησαν μύθων γυναῖκες τὴν σκηνήν· ὅρμος Ἐριφύλης, Φιλομήλας ἡ τράπεζα, Σθενεβοίας ἡ διαβολή, Ἀερόπης ἡ κλοπή, Πρόκνης
5 ἡ σφαγή. ἂν τὸ Χρυσηΐδος κάλλος Ἀγαμέμνων ποθῆι, λοιμὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι ποιεῖ· ἂν τὸ Βρισηΐδος κάλλος Ἀχιλλεὺς ποθῆι, πένθος αὐτῶι

8.1 καὶ δεθῆις WMD VGE : πεδηθῆις F 8.2 γυναικῶν Göttling : κακῶν codd.

προξενεῖ· ἐὰν ἔχηι γυναῖκα Κανδαύλης καλήν, φονεύει Κανδαύλην ἡ γυνή. τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλένης τῶν γάμων πῦρ ἀνῆψε κατὰ τῆς Τροίας ἄλλο πῦρ· ὁ δὲ Πηνελόπης γάμος τῆς σώφρονος πόσους νυμφίους ἀπώλεσεν; ἀπέκτεινεν Ἱππόλυτον φιλοῦσα Φαίδρα, Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα μὴ φιλοῦσα. ὦ πάντα τολμῶσαι γυναῖκες· κἂν φιλῶσι, φονεύουσι· κἂν μὴ φιλῶσι, φονεύουσιν. Ἀγαμέμνονα δὲ ἔδει φονευθῆναι τὸν καλόν, οὗ κάλλος οὐράνιον ἦν,

ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διῒ τερπικεραύνωι·

καὶ ταύτην ἀπέκοψεν, ὦ Ζεῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν γυνή. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν εὐμόρφων τις ἂν εἴποι γυναικῶν, ἔνθα καὶ μέτριον τὸ ἀτύχημα. τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἔχει τινὰ παρηγορίαν τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν ἀτυχήμασιν εὐτυχεῖν· εἰ δὲ μηδὲ εὔμορφος, ὡς φήις, ἡ συμφορὰ διπλῆ. καὶ πῶς ἄν τις ἀνάσχοιτο, καὶ ταῦτα μειράκιον οὕτω καλόν; μή, πρὸς θεῶν, Χαρίκλεις, μήπω μοι δοῦλος γένηι, μηδὲ τὸ ἄνθος πρὸ καιροῦ τῆς ἥβης ἀπολέσηις· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τοῦ γάμου τὸ ἀτύχημα· μαραίνει τὴν ἀκμήν. μή, δέομαι, Χαρίκλεις, μήπω μοι μαρανθῆις· μὴ παραδῶις εὔμορφον τρυγῆσαι ῥόδον ἀμόρφωι γεωργῶι." καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς "ταῦτα μέν" ἔφη "καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἐμοὶ μελήσει· καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν προθεσμίαν τῶν γάμων χρόνος ἐστὶν ἡμερῶν, πολλὰ δ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ μιᾶι· καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ζητήσωμεν. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον, ἐφ' ἱππασίαν ἄπειμι. ἐξ οὗ γάρ μοι τὸν ἵππον ἐχαρίσω τὸν καλόν, οὕπω σου τῶν δώρων ἀπήλαυσα. ἐπικουφιεῖ δέ μοι τὸ γυμνάσιον τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ λυπούμενον." ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπήιει τὴν τελευταίαν ὁδόν, ὕστατα καὶ πρῶτα μελλήσων ἱππάζεσθαι.

9 Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κλεινίαν καταλέγω μου τὸ δρᾶμα πῶς ἐγένετο· πῶς πάθοιμι, πῶς ἴδοιμι, τὴν καταγωγήν, τὸ δεῖπνον, τὸ κάλλος τῆς κόρης. τελευτῶν δὲ τῶι λόγωι συνίειν ἀσχημονῶν "οὐ φέρω," λέγων "Κλεινία, τὴν ἀνίαν· ὅλος γάρ μοι προσέπεσεν ὁ Ἔρως καὶ αὐτόν μου διώκει τὸν ὕπνον τῶν ὀμμάτων· πάντοτε Λευκίππην φαντάζομαι. οὐ γέγονεν ἄλλωι τινὶ τοιοῦτον ἀτύχημα· τὸ γὰρ κακόν μοι καὶ συνοικεῖ." καὶ ὁ Κλεινίας "ληρεῖς" εἶπεν "οὕτως εἰς ἔρωτα εὐτυχῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας θύρας ἐλθεῖν σε δεῖ οὐδὲ διάκονον παρακαλεῖν· αὐτήν σοι δέδωκε τὴν ἐρωμένην ἡ Τύχη καὶ φέρουσα ἔνδον ἵδρυσεν. ἄλλωι μὲν γὰρ

8.8 τινὰ Headlam : τὴν WMD F : om. VGE 8.9 γεωργῶι WMD GE F : γυναικί V 8.10 post ἐστὶν add. ὀλίγων Naber ζητήσωμεν WD : ζητήσομεν M : τηρήσομεν VE F : τηρήσωμεν G : post ζητήσωμεν add. μηχανὴν O'Sullivan 8.11 ἀπήλαυσα MD VGE : ἀπέλαυσα W 9.1 πάντοτε F : πάντα WMD VGE 9.2 ἄλλωι τινὶ F : ἄλλωι M VGE : ἄλλο WD

ἐραστῆι καὶ βλέμμα μόνον ἤρκεσε τηρουμένης παρθένου, καὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν νενόμικεν [ἐραστὴς] ἐὰν καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων εὐτυχῆι, οἱ δὲ εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν ἐραστῶν ἂν τύχωσι κἂν ῥήματος μόνου. σὺ δὲ
4 καὶ βλέπεις ἀεὶ καὶ ἀκούεις ἀεὶ καὶ συνδειπνεῖς καὶ συμπίνεις· καὶ ταῦτα εὐτυχῶν ἐγκαλεῖς· ἀχάριστος εἶ πρὸς Ἔρωτος δωρεάν. οὐκ οἶδας οἷόν ἐστιν ἐρωμένη βλεπομένη· μείζονα τῶν ἔργων ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν. ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντανακλώμενοι ἀπομάττουσιν ὡς ἐν κατόπτρωι τῶν σωμάτων τὰ εἴδωλα· ἡ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή, δι' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν
5 ψυχὴν καταρρέουσα, ἔχει τινὰ μίξιν ἐν ἀποστάσει· καὶ ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν σωμάτων μίξεως· καινὴ γάρ ἐστι σωμάτων συμπλοκή. ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔσεσθαι ταχὺ μαντεύομαι. μέγιστον γάρ ἐστιν ἐφόδιον εἰς πειθὼ συνεχὴς πρὸς ἐρωμένην ὁμιλία. ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ φιλίας πρόξενος
6 καὶ τὸ σύνηθες τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς χάριν ἀνυσιμώτερον. εἰ γὰρ τὰ ἄγρια τῶν θηρίων συνηθείαι τιθασσεύεται, πολὺ μᾶλλον ταύτηι μαλαχθείη καὶ γυνή. ἔχει δέ τι πρὸς παρθένον ἐπαγωγὸν ἡλικιώτης ἐρῶν· τὸ δὲ ἐν ὥραι τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐπεῖγον εἰς τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι τίκτει πολλάκις ἀντέρωτα. θέλει γὰρ ἑκάστη τῶν παρθένων εἶναι καλή, καὶ φιλουμένη χαίρει καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τῆς μαρτυρίας τὸν φιλοῦντα· κἂν μὴ
7 φιλήσηι τις αὐτήν, οὔπω πεπίστευκεν εἶναι καλή. ἓν οὖν σοι παραινῶ μόνον· ἐρᾶσθαι πιστευσάτω, καὶ ταχέως σε μιμήσεται." "πῶς οὖν" εἶπον "γένοιτο τοῦτο τὸ μάντευμα; δός μοι τὰς ἀφορμάς· σὺ γὰρ ἀρχαιότερος μύστης ἐμοῦ καὶ συνηθέστερος ἤδη τῆι τελετῆι τοῦ θεοῦ. τί λέγω; τί ποιῶ; πῶς ἂν τύχοιμι τῆς ἐρωμένης; οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ ἐγὼ τὰς ὁδούς."

10 "Μηδέν" εἶπεν ὁ Κλεινίας "πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτει παρ' ἄλλου μαθεῖν· αὐτοδίδακτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς σοφιστής. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ἀρτίτοκα τῶν βρεφῶν οὐδεὶς διδάσκει τὴν τροφήν, αὐτόματα δὲ ἐκμανθάνει καὶ οἶδεν ἐν τοῖς μαζοῖς οὖσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν τράπεζαν, οὕτω καὶ νεανίσκος ἔρωτος
2 πρωτοκύμων οὐ δεῖται διδασκαλίας πρὸς τὸν τοκετόν. ἐὰν γὰρ ἡ ὠδὶς παραγένηται καὶ ἐνστῆι τῆς ἀνάγκης ἡ προθεσμία, μηδὲν πλανηθείς, κἂν πρωτοκύμων ἦις, εὑρήσεις τεκεῖν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μαιωθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅσα δέ ἐστι κοινὰ καὶ μὴ τῆς εὐκαίρου τύχης δεόμενα, ταῦτα ἀκούσας μάθε. σὺ μηδὲν μὲν εἴπηις πρὸς τὴν παρθένον Ἀφροδίσιον, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ζήτει
3 πῶς γένηται σιωπῆι. παῖς γὰρ καὶ παρθένος ὅμοιοι μέν εἰσιν εἰς αἰδῶ· πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης χάριν κἂν γνώμης ἔχωσιν, ἃ πάσχουσιν ἀκούειν οὐ θέλουσι· τὴν γὰρ αἰσχύνην κεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασι.

9.3 ἐραστής seclusi 9.5 ἀνυσιμώτερον Wyttenbach : αἰδεσιμώτερον codd.
10.2 ἐὰν MD VGE F : ἐπὰν W et Garnaud

γυναῖκας μὲν γὰρ εὐφραίνει καὶ τὰ ῥήματα· παρθένος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔξωθεν 4
ἀκροβολισμοὺς τῶν ἐραστῶν εἰς πεῖραν φέρει καὶ ἄφνω συντίθεται τοῖς
νεύμασιν· ἐὰν δὲ αἰτήσηις τὸ ἔργον προσελθών, ἐκπλήξεις αὐτῆς τὰ ὦτα
τῆι φωνῆι, καὶ ἐρυθριᾶι καὶ μισεῖ τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι δοκεῖ· κἂν
ὑποσχέσθαι θέληι τὴν χάριν, αἰσχύνεται. τότε γὰρ πάσχειν νομίζει τὸ
ἔργον, ὅτε μᾶλλον τὴν πεῖραν ἐκ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἡδονῆς ἀκούει. ἐὰν δέ, 5
τὴν πεῖραν προσάγων τὴν ἄλλην καὶ εὐάγωγον αὐτὴν κατασκευάσας,
ἡδέως ἤδη προσέρχηι, σιώπα μὲν οὖν τὰ πολλὰ ὡς ἐν μυστηρίοις, φίλησον
δὲ προσελθὼν ἠρέμα· τὸ γὰρ ἐραστοῦ φίλημα πρὸς ἐρωμένην θέλουσαν
μὲν παρέχειν αἰτησίς ἐστι σιωπῆι, πρὸς ἀπειθοῦσαν δέ, ἱκετηρία. κἂν 6
μὲν προσῆι τις συνθήκη τῆς πράξεως, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἑκοῦσαι πρὸς τὸ
ἔργον ἐρχόμεναι θέλουσι βιάζεσθαι δοκεῖν, ἵνα τῆι δόξηι τῆς ἀνάγκης
ἀποτρέπωνται τῆς αἰσχύνης τὸ ἑκούσιον. μὴ τοίνυν ὀκνήσηις, ἐὰν
ἀνθισταμένην αὐτὴν ἴδηις, ἀλλ' ἐπιτήρει πῶς ἀνθίσταται· σοφίας γὰρ
κἀνταῦθα δεῖ. κἂν μὲν προσκαρτερῆι, ἐπίσχες τὴν βίαν· οὕπω γὰρ 7
πείθεται· ἐὰν δὲ μαλθακώτερον ἤδη θέληι, χορήγησον τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, μὴ
ἀπολέσηις σου τὸ δρᾶμα."

Κἀγὼ δέ "μεγάλα μέν" ἔφην "ἐφόδιά μοι δέδωκας καὶ εὔχομαι τυχεῖν, **11**
Κλεινία. φοβοῦμαι δ' ὅμως μὴ κακῶν μοι γένηται τὸ εὐτύχημα μειζόνων
ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐπιτρίψηι με πρὸς ἔρωτα πλείονα. ἂν οὖν αὐξηθῆι μοι τὸ δεινόν,
τί δράσω; γαμεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην. ἄλληι γὰρ δέδομαι παρθένωι. 2
ἐπίκειται δέ μοι πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν γάμον ὁ πατήρ, δίκαια αἰτῶν, οὐ ξένην
οὐδὲ αἰσχρὰν γῆμαι κόρην· οὐδ' ὡς Χαρικλέα πλούτωι με πωλεῖ, ἀλλ'
αὑτοῦ μοι δίδωσι θυγατέρα, καλὴν μέν, ὦ θεοί, πρὶν Λευκίππην ἰδεῖν· νῦν
δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς τυφλώττω καὶ πρὸς Λευκίππην μόνην τοὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχω. ἐν μεθορίωι κεῖμαι δύο ἐναντίων· Ἔρως ἀνταγωνίζεται καὶ 3
πατήρ. ὁ μὲν ἔστηκεν αἰδῶ κρατῶν, ὁ δὲ [κάθηται] πυρπολῶν. πῶς κρίνω
τὴν δίκην; ἀνάγκη μάχεται καὶ φύσις. καὶ θέλω μὲν σοὶ δικάσαι, πάτερ,
ἀλλ' ἀντίδικον ἔχω χαλεπώτερον. βασανίζει τὸν δικαστήν, ἕστηκε μετὰ
βελῶν, κρίνεται μετὰ πυρός. ἂν ἀπειθήσω, πάτερ, αὐτῶι καίομαι τῶι πυρί."

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐφιλοσοφοῦμεν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐξαίφνης δὲ παῖς **12**
εἰστρέχει τῶν τοῦ Χαρικλέους οἰκετῶν, ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὴν
ἀγγελίαν τοῦ κακοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὸν Κλεινίαν εὐθὺς ἀνακραγεῖν θεασάμενον·
"κακόν τι γέγονε Χαρικλεῖ." ἅμα δὲ αὐτῶι λέγοντι συνεξεφώνησεν ὁ
οἰκέτης· "τέθνηκε Χαρικλῆς." τὸν μὲν δὴ Κλεινίαν πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν 2

10.7 θέληι WM VG F : θέλει D E 11.1 ἐπιτρίψηι WMD VE : ἐπιστρέφει G 11.2 δέδομαι WMD F δέδεμαι VGE 11.3 αἰδῶ WM^{ac} : αἰδοῖ M^{pc}D VGE F κάθηται seclusi

ἀφῆκεν ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ἔμενεν ἀκίνητος, ὥσπερ τυφῶνι βεβλημένος τῶι λόγωι. ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης διηγεῖται· "ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὸν σὸν ἐκάθισεν, ὦ Κλεινία, ὃν τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ἤλαυνεν ἠρέμα, δύο δὲ περιελθὼν ἢ τρεῖς δρόμους τὴν ἱππασίαν ἐπέσχε καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἱδροῦντα κατέψα καθήμενος, τοῦ
3 ῥυτῆρος ἀμελήσας. ἀπομάττοντος δὲ τῆς ἕδρας τοὺς ἱδρῶτας ψόφος κατόπιν γίνεται, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἐκταραχθεὶς πηδᾶι ὄρθιον ἀρθεὶς καὶ ἀλογίστως ἐφέρετο. τὸν γὰρ χαλινὸν δακὼν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα σιμώσας καὶ φρίξας τὴν κόμην, οἰστρηθεὶς τῶι φόβωι διαέριος ἵπτατο. τῶν δὲ ποδῶν οἱ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἤλλοντο, οἱ δὲ ὄπισθεν τοὺς πρόσθεν ἐπειγόμενοι
4 φθάσαι τὸν δρόμον ἐπέσπευδον, διώκοντες τὸν ἵππον. ὁ δὲ ἵππος τῆι τῶν ποδῶν κυρτούμενος ἁμίλληι ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω πηδῶν πρὸς τὴν ἑκατέρων σπουδὴν δίκην νεὼς χειμαζομένης τοῖς νώτοις ἐκυμαίνετο. ὁ δὲ κακοδαίμων Χαρικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἱππείας ταλαντευόμενος κύματος ἐκ τῆς ἕδρας ἐσφαιρίζετο, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπ' οὐρὰν κατολισθαίνων, ποτὲ δὲ ἐπὶ
5 τράχηλον κυβιστῶν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπίεζεν αὐτὸν χειμών. τῶν δὲ ῥυτήρων οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δυνάμενος, δοὺς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὅλως τῶι τοῦ δρόμου πνεύματι, τῆς τύχης ἦν. ὁ δὲ ἵππος ῥύμηι θέων ἐκτρέπεται τῆς λεωφόρου καὶ ἐς ὕλην ἐπήδησε καὶ εὐθὺς τὸν ἄθλιον Χαρικλέα περιρρήγνυσι δένδρωι. ὁ δέ, ὡς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς προσαραχθείς, ἐκκρούεται μὲν τῆς ἕδρας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ δένδρου κλάδων τὸ πρόσωπον αἰσχύνεται καὶ τοσούτοις περιδρύπτεται τραύμασιν ὅσαι τῶν κλάδων ἦσαν αἱ αἰχμαί.
6 οἱ δὲ ῥυτῆρες αὐτῶι περιδεθέντες οὐκ ἤθελον ἀφεῖναι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλ' ἀνθεῖλκον αὐτόν, ἐπισύροντες θανάτου τρίβον. ὁ δὲ ἵππος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκταραχθεὶς τῶι πτώματι καὶ ἐμποδιζόμενος εἰς τὸν δρόμον τῶι σώματι κατεπάτει τὸν ἄθλιον, ἐκλακτίζων τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς φυγῆς· ὥστε οὐκ ἂν αὐτόν τις ἰδὼν οὐδὲ γνωρίσειεν."

13 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀκούων ὁ Κλεινίας ἐσίγα τινὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως· μεταξὺ δὲ νήψας ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ διωλύγιον ἐκώκυσε καὶ ἐκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα μὲν ἠπείγετο· ἐπηκολούθουν δὲ κἀγώ, παρηγορῶν ὡς ἠδυνάμην.
2 καὶ ἐν τούτωι φοράδην Χαρικλῆς ἐκομίζετο, θέαμα οἴκτιστον καὶ ἐλεεινόν· ὅλος γὰρ τραῦμα ἦν, ὥστε μηδένα τῶν παρόντων κατασχεῖν τὰ δάκρυα. ἐξῆρχε δὲ τοῦ θρήνου ὁ πατὴρ πολυτάρακτον βοῶν· "οἷος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ προελθών, οἷος ἐπανέρχηι μοι, τέκνον· ὢ πονηρῶν ἱππασμάτων. οὐδὲ
3 κοινῶι μοι θανάτωι τέθνηκας· οὐδὲ εὐσχήμων φαίνηι νεκρός. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ

12.2 ὃν O'Sullivan : ὃς codd. 12.3 σιμώσας WMD GE : γυρώσας V 12.4 νεὼς VGE : νηὸς WMD ταλαντευόμενος VGE : ταλαντούμενος WMD F 12.5 ὅλως Jacobs[1] : ὅμως codd. ῥύμηι VGE : ῥώμηι WMD F αἰχμαί WM VGE : ἀκμαί D F 12.6 ἐπισύροντες WMD : περισύροντες VGE F

ἄλλοις τῶν ἀποθανόντων κἂν ἴχνος τῶν γνωρισμάτων διασώζεται· κἂν τὸ ἄνθος τις τῶν προσώπων ἀπολέσῃ, τηρεῖ τὸ εἴδωλον καὶ παρηγορεῖ τὸ λυπούμενον καθεύδοντα μιμούμενος· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἐξεῖλεν ὁ θάνατος, ἐν δὲ τῶι σώματι τηρεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. σοῦ δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ ταῦτα 4
διέφθειρεν ἡ τύχη, καί μοι τέθνηκας θάνατον διπλοῦν, ψυχῆι καὶ σώματι. οὕτως σου τέθνηκε καὶ τῆς εἰκόνος ἡ σκιά· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχή σου πέφευγεν, οὐχ εὑρίσκω δέ σε οὐδὲ ἐν τῶι σώματι. πότε μοι, τέκνον, γαμεῖς; πότε 5
σου θύσω τοὺς γάμους, ἱππεῦ καὶ νυμφίε, νυμφίε μὲν ἀτελές, ἱππεῦ δὲ δυστυχές; τάφος μέν σοι, τέκνον, ὁ θάλαμος, γάμος δὲ ὁ θάνατος, θρῆνος δὲ ὁ ὑμέναιος, ὁ δὲ κωκυτὸς οὗτος τῶν γάμων ὠιδαί. ἄλλο σοι, τέκνον, 6
προσεδόκων πῦρ ἀνάψαι· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἔσβεσεν ἡ φθονερὰ Τύχη μετὰ σοῦ· ἀνάπτει δέ σοι δᾳδας κακῶν. ὢ πονηρᾶς ταύτης δαιδουχίας· ἡ νυμφική σοι δαιδουχία ταφὴ γίνεται."

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐκώκυεν ὁ πατήρ, ἑτέρωθεν δὲ καθ' αὑτὸν ὁ **14**
Κλεινίας (καὶ ἦν θρήνων ἅμιλλα, ἐραστοῦ καὶ πατρός)· "ἐγώ μου τὸν δεσπότην ἀπολώλεκα. τί γὰρ αὐτῶι τοιοῦτον δῶρον ἐχαριζόμην; φιάλη γὰρ οὐκ ἦν χρυσῆ, ἵν' ἐσπένδετο πίνων καὶ ἐχρῆτό μου τῶι δώρωι τρυφῶν; ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐχαριζόμην θηρίον μειρακίωι καλῶι, 2
ἐκαλλώπιζον δὲ καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν θηρίον προστερνιδίοις, προμετωπιδίοις, φαλάροις ἀργυροῖς, χρυσαῖς ἡνίαις. οἴμοι Χαρίκλεις· ἐκόσμησά σου τὸν φονέα χρυσῶι. ἵππε πάντων θηρίων ἀγριώτατε, πονηρὲ καὶ ἀχάριστε καὶ ἀναίσθητε κάλλους· ὁ μὲν κατέψα σου τοὺς ἱδρῶτας καὶ τροφὰς 3
ἐπηγγέλλετο πλείονας καὶ ἐπήινει τὸν δρόμον, σὺ δὲ ἀπέκτεινας ἐπαινούμενος. οὐχ ἥδου προσαπτομένου σου τοιούτου σώματος, οὐκ ἦν σοι τοιοῦτος ἱππεὺς τρυφή, ἀλλ' ἔρριψας, ἄστοργε, τὸ κάλλος χαμαί. οἴμοι δυστυχής· ἐγὼ δέ σου τὸν φονέα, τὸν ἀνδροφόνον ἐωνησάμην."

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ταφὴν εὐθὺς ἔσπευδον ἐπὶ τὴν κόρην· ἡ δὲ ἦν ἐν τῶι **15**
παραδείσωι τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δὲ παράδεισος ἄλσος ἦν, μέγα τι χρῆμα πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν ἡδονήν· καὶ περὶ τὸ ἄλσος τειχίον ἦν αὔταρκες εἰς ὕψος καὶ ἑκάστη πλευρὰ τειχίου (τέσσαρες δὲ ἦσαν πλευραί) κατάστεγος ὑπὸ χορῶι κιόνων· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖς κίοσιν ἔνδον ἦν ἡ τῶν δένδρων πανήγυρις. ἔθαλλον οἱ κλάδοι, συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλον· γείτονες 2
αἱ τῶν πετάλων περιπλοκαί, τῶν φύλλων περιβολαί, τῶν καρπῶν συμπλοκαί. τοσαύτη τις ἦν ὁμιλία τῶν φυτῶν. ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν δένδρων τῶν 3
ἁδροτέρων κιττὸς καὶ σμῖλαξ παρεπεφύκει· ἡ μὲν ἐξηρτημένη πλατάνου

13.6 φθονερὰ VGE : πονηρὰ WMD ἀνάπτει WMD : ἀνθάπτει VGE 14.1 καὶ ἐχρῆτο scripsi : ἐχρῆτο M : καὶ ἐχρᾶτο W : χρήσθω D : χρῆσθαι VGE 14.3 σου VGE : σοι WMD 15.2 γείτονες αἱ Guyet : αἱ γείτονες codd.

καὶ περιπυκάζουσα ῥαδινῇ τῇι κόμηι· ὁ δὲ κιττὸς περὶ πεύκην ἑλιχθεὶς
ὠικειοῦτο τὸ δένδρον ταῖς περιπλοκαῖς, καὶ ἐγίνετο τῶι κιττῶι ὄχημα
4 τὸ φυτόν, στέφανος δὲ ὁ κιττὸς τοῦ φυτοῦ. ἄμπελοι δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ
δένδρου, καλάμοις ἐποχούμεναι, τοῖς φύλλοις ἔθαλλον, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς
ὡραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἄνθην καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς τῶν καλάμων ἐξεκρέματο καὶ ἦν
βόστρυχος τοῦ φυτοῦ· τῶν δὲ φύλλων ἄνωθεν αἰωρουμένων ὑφ' ἡλίωι
5 πρὸς ἄνεμον συμμιγῆ ‹καὶ› ὠχρὰν ἐμάρμαιρεν ἡ γῆ τὴν σκιάν. τὰ δὲ
ἄνθη ποικίλην ἔχοντα τὴν χροιὰν ἐν μέρει συνεξέφαινε τὸ κάλλος· ‹ἴον›
(καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς γῆς πορφύρα) καὶ νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδον. μία μὲν τῶι
ῥόδωι καὶ τῶι ναρκίσσωι ἡ κάλυξ ὅσον εἰς περιγραφήν, καὶ ἦν φιάλη
τοῦ φυτοῦ. ἡ χροιὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν κάλυκα φύλλων ἐσχισμένων τῶι
ῥόδωι μὲν αἵματος ὁμοῦ [ἴων] καὶ γάλακτος τὸ κάτω τοῦ φύλλου, καὶ
6 ὁ νάρκισσος ἦν τὸ πᾶν ὅμοιος τῶι κάτω τοῦ ῥόδου. τῶι ‹δ'› ἴωι κάλυξ
μὲν οὐδαμοῦ, χροιὰ δὲ οἵαν ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀστράπτει γαλήνη. ἐν μέσοις
δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσι πηγὴ ἀνέβλυζε καὶ περιεγέγραπτο τετράγωνος χαράδρα
χειροποίητος τῶι ῥεύματι. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τῶν ἀνθέων ἦν κάτοπτρον, ὡς
δοκεῖν τὸ ἄλσος εἶναι διπλοῦν, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ δὲ τῆς σκιᾶς.
7 ὄρνιθες δέ, οἱ μὲν χειροήθεις περὶ τὸ ἄλσος ἐνέμοντο, οὓς ἐκολάκευον αἱ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων τροφαί, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθερον ἔχοντες τὸ πτερὸν περὶ τὰς τῶν
δένδρων κορυφὰς ἔπαιζον· οἱ μὲν ἄιδοντες τὰ ὀρνίθων ἄισματα, οἱ δὲ
8 τῇι τῶν πτερῶν ἀγλαϊζόμενοι στολῇι. οἱ ὠιδοὶ δὲ τέττιγες καὶ χελιδόνες·
οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἠοῦς ἄιδοντες εὐνήν, αἱ δὲ τὴν Τηρέως τράπεζαν. οἱ δὲ
χειροήθεις ταὼς καὶ κύκνος καὶ ψιττακός· ὁ κύκνος περὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων
πίδακας νεμόμενος, ὁ ψιττακὸς ἐν οἰκίσκωι περὶ δένδρον κρεμάμενος, ὁ
ταὼς τοῖς ἄνθεσι περισύρων τὸ πτερόν. ἀντέλαμπε δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀνθέων θέα
τῇι τῶν ὀρνίθων χροιᾶι, καὶ ἦν ἄνθη πτερῶν.

16 Βουλόμενος οὖν ἐγὼ εὐάγωγον τὴν κόρην εἰς ἔρωτα παρασκευάσαι,
λόγων πρὸς τὸν Σάτυρον ἠρχόμην, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρνιθος λαβὼν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν.
διαβαδίζουσα γὰρ ἔτυχεν ἅμα τῇι Κλειοῖ καὶ ἐπιστᾶσα τῶι ταὼι
2 καταντίον. ἔτυχε γὰρ τύχηι τινὶ συμβὰν τότε τὸν ὄρνιν ἀναπτερῶσαι
τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐπιδεικνύναι τῶν πτερῶν. "τοῦτο μέντοι
οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης ὁ ὄρνις" ἔφην "ποιεῖ· ἀλλ' ἔστι γὰρ ἐρωτικός. ὅταν
3 οὖν ἐπαγαγέσθαι θέλῃι τὴν ἐρωμένην, τότε οὕτως καλλωπίζεται. ὁρᾶις

15.4 συμμιγῆ WMD : συμμιγεῖ VE post συμμιγῆ add. καὶ O'Sullivan 15.5 συνεξέφαινε codd. : συνεξύφαινε Jackson (cf. 11.3) ἴον ante καὶ ἦν addidi, ante καὶ νάρκισσος Jacobs^{2} ὁμοῦ codd. : τὸ ἄνω Vilborg ἴων secl. Jacobs^{2} ὅμοιος Hercher : ὅμοιον codd. 15.8 Ἠοῦς W VGE : Ἰοῦς MD περισύρων VGE : ἐπισύρων WMD 16.1 καταντίον Jacobs^{2} : κατ' αὐτὸν WMD : κατὰ ταὐτὸν G

ἐκείνην τὴν τῆς πλατάνου πλησίον;" δείξας θήλειαν ταῶνα "ταύτῃ νῦν οὗτος τὸ κάλλος ἐπιδείκνυται, λειμῶνα πτερῶν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ ταὼ λειμὼν εὐανθέστερος· πεφύτευται γὰρ αὐτῶι καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν τοῖς πτεροῖς κύκλωι· τὸ δὲ ἄλουργὲς τὸν χρυσὸν περιθέει τὸν ἴσον κύκλον, καὶ ἔστιν ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν τῶι πτερῶι."

17 Καὶ ὁ Σάτυρος συνεὶς τοῦ λόγου μου τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἵνα μοι μᾶλλον εἴη περὶ τούτου λέγειν "ἦ γὰρ ὁ Ἔρως" ἔφη "τοσαύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν, ὡς καὶ μέχρις ὀρνίθων πέμπειν τὸ πῦρ;" "οὐ μέχρις ὀρνίθων," ἔφην "τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ θαυμαστόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχει πτερόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑρπετῶν καὶ φυτῶν· ἐγὼ δὲ δοκῶ καὶ λίθων. ἐρᾶι γοῦν ἡ Μαγνησία λίθος τοῦ σιδήρου· κἂν 2 μόνον ἴδηι καὶ θίγηι, πρὸς αὑτὴν εἵλκυσεν, ὥσπερ ἐρωτικὸν ἔνδον ἔχουσα πῦρ. καὶ μή τι τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐρώσης λίθου καὶ ἐρωμένου σιδήρου φίλημα; περὶ δὲ φυτῶν λέγουσι παῖδες σοφῶν· καὶ μῦθον ἔλεγον ‹ἂν› τὸν λόγον 3 εἶναι, εἰ μὴ καὶ παῖδες ἔλεγον γεωργῶν. ὁ δὲ λόγος· ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου φυτὸν ἐρᾶν, τῶι δὲ φοίνικι τὸν ἔρωτα μᾶλλον ἐνοχλεῖν. λέγουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα τῶν φοινίκων, τὸν δὲ θῆλυν. ὁ ἄρρην οὖν τοῦ θήλεος ἐρᾶι· 4 κἂν ὁ θῆλυς ἀπωικισμένος εἴη τῆι τῆς φυτείας στάσει, ὁ ἐραστὴς ὁ ἄρρην αὐαίνεται. συνίησιν οὖν ὁ γεωργὸς τὴν λύπην τοῦ φυτοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ χωρίου περιωπὴν ἀνελθὼν ἐφορᾶι ποῦ *νένευκε*· κλίνεται γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐρώμενον. καὶ μαθὼν θεραπεύει τοῦ φυτοῦ τὴν νόσον· πτόρθον γὰρ τοῦ 5 θήλεος φοίνικος λαβὼν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἄρρενος καρδίαν ἐντίθησι. καὶ ἀνέψυξε μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ φυτοῦ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀποθνῄσκον πάλιν ἀνεζωπύρησε καὶ ἐξανέστη, χαῖρον ἐπὶ τῆι τῆς ἐρωμένης συμπλοκῆι. καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι γάμος φυτῶν.

18 Γίνεται δὲ καὶ γάμος ἄλλος ὑδάτων διαπόντιος. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν ἐραστὴς ποταμὸς Ἠλεῖος, ἡ δὲ ἐρωμένη κρήνη Σικελική. διὰ γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ ποταμὸς ὡς διὰ πεδίου τρέχει. ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἀφανίζει γλυκὺν ἐραστὴν 2 ἁλμυρῶι κύματι, σχίζεται δὲ αὐτῶι ῥέοντι, καὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῆς θαλάσσης χαράδρα τῶι ποταμῶι γίνεται· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν οὕτω τὸν Ἀλφειὸν νυμφοστολεῖ. ὅταν οὖν ἦι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἑορτή, πολλοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ καθιᾶσιν ἄλλος ἄλλα δῶρα· ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην κομίζει, καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἕδνα ποταμοῦ. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς 3 ἑρπετοῖς ἄλλο ἔρωτος μυστήριον, οὐ τοῖς ὁμογενέσι μόνον πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις. ὁ ἔχις (ὁ τῆς γῆς ὄφις) εἰς τὴν σμύραιναν οἰστρεῖ· ἡ δὲ σμύραινά ἐστιν ἄλλος ὄφις θαλάσσιος, εἰς μὲν τὴν μορφὴν ὄφις, εἰς δὲ τὴν χρῆσιν ἰχθύς. ὅταν οὖν εἰς τὸν γάμον ἐθέλωσιν ἀλλήλοις 4

16.3 λειμῶνα fort. τῶν? κύκλωι· τὸ δὲ scripsi : κύκλωι δὲ τὸ codd. 17.5 ἡ ψυχὴ VGE : τὴν ψυχὴν WMD φυτῶν VGE : φυτοῦ WMD 18.1 Ἠλεῖος VGE : Ἀλφειός WMD 18.2 ante τῶν Ὀλυμπίων add. ἡ Jacobs^{2}, sed cf. 2.1

συνελθεῖν, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐλθὼν συρίζει πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τῇι σμυραίνηι σύμβολον, ἡ δὲ γνωρίζει τὸ σύνθημα καὶ ἐκ τῶν κυμάτων ἀναδύεται. ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθέως πρὸς τὸν νυμφίον ἐξέρχεται (οἶδε γάρ, ὅτι θάνατον ἐν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι φέρει), ἀλλ' ἄνεισιν εἰς τὴν πέτραν καὶ περιμένει
5 τὸν νυμφίον καθᾶραι τὸ στόμα. ἑστᾶσιν οὖν ἀμφότεροι πρὸς ἀλλήλους βλέποντες, ὁ μὲν ἠπειρώτης ἐραστής, ἡ δὲ ἐρωμένη νησιῶτις. ὅταν οὖν ὁ ἐραστὴς ἐξεμέσηι τῆς νύμφης τὸν φόβον, ἡ δὲ ἐρριμμένον ἴδηι τὸν θάνατον χαμαί, τότε καταβαίνει τῆς πέτρας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐξέρχεται καὶ τὸν ἐραστὴν περιπτύσσεται καὶ οὐκέτι φοβεῖται τὰ φιλήματα."

19 Ταῦτα λέγων ἔβλεπον ἅμα τὴν κόρην πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν τὴν ἐρωτικήν· ἡ δὲ ὑπεσήμαινεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἀκούειν. τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἀστράπτον τοῦ ταὼ ἧττον ἐδόκει μοι τοῦ Λευκίππης εἶναι προσώπου. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος κάλλος αὐτῆς πρὸς τὰ τοῦ λειμῶνος ἤριζεν ἄνθη. ναρκίσσου μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον ἔστιλβε χροιάν, ῥόδον δὲ ἀνέτελλεν ἐκ τῆς παρειᾶς, ἴον δὲ ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμάρμαιρεν αὐγή, αἱ δὲ κόμαι
2 βοστρυχούμεναι μᾶλλον εἱλίττοντο κιττοῦ· τοσοῦτος ἦν Λευκίππης ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων ὁ λειμών. ἡ μὲν οὖν μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπιοῦσα ὤιχετο· τῆς γὰρ κιθάρας αὐτὴν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐδόκει παρεῖναι· ἀπελθοῦσα
3 γὰρ τὴν μορφὴν ἐναφῆκέ μου τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς. ἑαυτοὺς οὖν ἐπηινοῦμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ Σάτυρος, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐμαυτὸν τῆς μυθολογίας, ὁ δὲ ὅτι μοι τὰς ἀφορμὰς παρέσχεν. [καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν τοῦ δείπνου καιρὸς ἦν, καὶ πάλιν ὁμοίως συνεπίνομεν.]

ΛΟΓΟΣ Β'

1 Ἅμα δὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον ἐβαδίζομεν τῆς κόρης, ἀκροασόμενοι δῆθεν τῶν κιθαρισμάτων· οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτοῦ κἂν ἐπ' ὀλίγον κρατεῖν τοῦ μὴ ὁρᾶν τὴν κόρην. ἡ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἦισεν Ὁμήρου τὴν πρὸς τὸν λέοντα τοῦ συὸς μάχην. ἔπειτά τι καὶ τῆς ἁπαλῆς
2 Μούσης ἐλίγαινε· ῥόδον γὰρ ἐπήινει τὸ ἆισμα. εἴ τις τὰς καμπὰς τῆς ὠιδῆς περιελὼν ψιλὸν ἔλεγεν ἁρμονίας τὸν λόγον, οὕτως ἂν εἶχεν ὁ λόγος· "εἰ τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἤθελεν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπιθεῖναι βασιλέα, τὸ ῥόδον ἂν τῶν ἀνθέων ἐβασίλευε. γῆς ἐστι κόσμος, φυτῶν ἀγλάϊσμα, ὀφθαλμὸς
3 ἀνθέων, λειμῶνος ἐρύθημα, κάλλος ἀστράπτον· ἔρωτος πνέει, Ἀφροδίτην προξενεῖ, εὐώδεσι φύλλοις κομᾶι, εὐκινήτοις πετάλοις τρυφᾶι, τὸ πέταλον

19.2 τοσοῦτος codd. : τοιοῦτος Vilborg ἐναφῆκέ WD : ἐπαφῆκέ M VGE F 19.3 καὶ μετὰ . . . συνεπίνομεν secl. Jacobs² 1.2 καμπὰς F : κάλυκας WM VGE

τῶι Ζεφύρωι γελᾶι." ἡ μὲν ταῦτα ἦιδεν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδόκουν τὸ ῥόδον ἐπὶ τῶν χειλέων αὐτῆς ⟨ἰδεῖν⟩, ὡς εἴ τις τῆς κάλυκος τὸ περιφερὲς εἰς τὴν τοῦ στόματος ἔκλεισε μορφήν.

Καὶ ἄρτι πέπαυτο τῶν κιθαρισμάτων, καὶ πάλιν δείπνου καιρὸς ἦν. **2** ἦν γὰρ ἑορτὴ Προτρυγαίου Διονύσου τότε. τὸν γὰρ Διόνυσον Τύριοι νομίζουσιν ἑαυτῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Κάδμου μῦθον ἄιδουσι. καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς 2 διηγοῦνται πατέρα μῦθον, οἶνον οὐκ εἶναί πω παρ' ἀνθρώποις ὅπου μή παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐ τὸν μέλανα τὸν ἀνθοσμίαν, οὐ τὸν τῆς Βιβλίας ἀμπέλου, οὐ τὸν Μάρωνος τὸν Θράικιον, οὐ Χῖον ἐκ Λακαίνης, οὐ τὸν Ἰκάρου τὸν νησιώτην, ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας ἀποίκους εἶναι Τυρίων ἀνθοσμιῶν, τὴν δὲ πρώτην παρ' αὐτοῖς φῦναι τῶν οἴνων μητέρα. εἶναι γὰρ ἐκεῖ τινα 3 φιλόξενον ποιμένα, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Ἰκάριον λέγουσι, καὶ τοὐνταῦθα τοῦ μύθου γενέσθαι πᾶν ὅσον Ἀττικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν. ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἥκεν ὁ Διόνυσος τὸν βουκόλον· ὁ δὲ αὐτῶι παρατίθησιν ὅσα γῆ τρέφει καὶ μαζοὶ βοῶν. ποτὸν δὲ ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς οἷον καὶ ὁ βοῦς ἔπινεν· οὔπω γὰρ τὸ ἀμπέλινον ἦν. ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπαινεῖ τῆς φιλοφροσύνης τὸν ποιμένα καὶ 4 αὐτῶι προτείνει κύλικα φιλοτησίαν. τὸ δὲ ποτὸν οἶνος ἦν. ὁ δὲ πιὼν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς βακχεύεται καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν θεόν· "πόθεν, ὦ ξένε, σοὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο τὸ πορφυροῦν; πόθεν οὕτως εὗρες αἷμα γλυκύ; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ χαμαὶ ῥέον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ στέρνα καταβαίνει καὶ λεπτὴν 5 ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τὰς ῥῖνας εὐφραίνει καὶ θιγόντι μὲν ψυχρόν ἐστιν, εἰς τὴν γαστέρα δὲ καταθορὸν ἀναπνεῖ κάτωθεν ἡδονῆς πῦρ." καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος ἔφη· "τοῦτό ἐστιν ὀπώρας ὕδωρ, τοῦτό ἐστιν αἷμα βότρυος." ἄγει πρὸς τὴν ἄμπελον ὁ θεὸς τὸν βουκόλον, 6 καὶ τῶν βοτρύων λαβὼν ἅμα καὶ θλίβων καὶ δεικνὺς τὴν ἄμπελον "τοῦτο μέν ἐστιν" ἔφη "τὸ ὕδωρ, τοῦτο δὲ ἡ πηγή." ὁ μὲν οὖν οἶνος οὕτως ἐς ἀνθρώπους παρῆλθεν, ὡς ὁ Τυρίων λόγος.

ἑορτὴν δὲ ἄγουσιν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνωι τῶι θεῶι. φιλοφρονούμενος **3** οὖν ὁ πατὴρ τά τε ἄλλα παρασκευάσας ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχε πολυτελέστερα καὶ κρατῆρα παρεθήκατο ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ τὸν Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου

1.3 ἰδεῖν add. Salmasius 2.2 ἀνθοσμιῶν scripsi : ἀνθρώπων codd. et Π^1 : οἴνων Valckenaer : ἀμπέλων Jacobs^2 2.3 [π]οιμένα Π^1 : βουκόλον codd. τοὐνταῦθα scripsi : τοῦτον ἐνταῦθα codd. : τὸν ἐνταῦθα Π^1 : τὸ γε ἐνταῦθα Laplace^2 τρέφει Π^1 : φέρει codd. μαζ[οὶ] Π^1 : ἅμαξα codd. 2.4 ὁ Διόνυσος codd : ὁ δὲ θεὸς Schubart (ο[4 litt.]ς Π^2) ποιμένα Π^1 Π^2 : βουκόλον codd. αἷμα γλυκύ om. Π^2, ut videtur 3.1 φιλοφρονούμενος Π^1 : φιλοτιμούμενος codd. παρεθήκατο Grenfell–Hunt (] θηκατο Π^1) : παρέθηκε τὸν codd. post θεοῦ add. πολυτελῆ Grenfell–Hunt (]λη Π^1), Vilborg

δεύτερον. ὑέλου μὲν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ὀρωρυγμένης· κύκλωι δὲ αὐτὸν ἄμπελοι περιέστεφον ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρατῆρος πεφυτευμέναι. οἱ δὲ βότρυες πάντηι περικρεμάμενοι· ὄμφαξ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕκαστος <ἐφ᾽> ὅσον ἐστὶν κενὸς ὁ κρατήρ· ἐὰν δὲ ἐγχέηις οἴνου, κατὰ μικρὸν ὁ βότρυς ὑποπερκάζεται καὶ σταφυλὴν τὸν ὄμφακα ποιεῖ. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐντετύπωται τῶν βοτρύων πλησίον, ἵνα τὴν ἄμπελον γεωργῆι. τοῦ δὲ πότου προϊόντος ἤδη καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐς αὐτὴν ἑώρων. Ἔρως δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος, δύο βίαιοι θεοί, ψυχὴν κατασχόντες ἐκμαίνουσιν εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν, ὁ μὲν καίων αὐτὴν τῶι συνήθει πυρί, ὁ δὲ τὸν οἶνον ὑπέκκαυμα φέρων· οἶνος γὰρ ἔρωτος τροφή. ἤδη δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ περιεργότερον εἰς ἐμὲ βλέπειν ἐθρασύνετο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἡμερῶν ἐπράττετο δέκα, καὶ πλέον τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκερδαίνομεν ἢ ἐτολμῶμεν οὐδέν.

4 Κοινοῦμαι δὴ τῶι Σατύρωι τὸ πᾶν καὶ συμπράττειν ἠξίουν· ὁ δὲ ἔλεγε καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐγνωκέναι πρὶν παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν, ὀκνεῖν δὲ ἐλέγχειν βουλόμενον λανθάνειν· ὁ γὰρ μετὰ κλοπῆς ἐρῶν ἂν ἐλεγχθῆι πρός τινος, ὡς ὀνειδίζοντα τὸν ἐλέγξαντα μισεῖ. "ἤδη δέ" ἔφη "καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον ἡμῶν προὐνόησεν [ἡ Τύχη]. ἡ γὰρ τὸν θάλαμον αὐτῆς πεπιστευμένη Κλειὼ κεκοινώνηκέ μοι καὶ ἔχει πρός με ὡς ἐραστήν. ταύτην παρασκευάσω κατὰ μικρὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ συναίρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. δεῖ δέ σε καὶ τὴν κόρην μὴ μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων μόνων πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥῆμα δριμύτερον εἰπεῖν. τότε δὲ πρόσαγε τὴν δευτέραν μηχανήν. θίγε χειρός, θλῖψον δάκτυλον, θλίβων στέναξον. ἢν δὲ ταῦτά σου ποιοῦντος καρτερῆι καὶ προσίηται, σὸν ἔργον ἤδη δέσποινάν τε καλεῖν καὶ φιλῆσαι τράχηλον." "πιθανῶς μέν," ἔφην "νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἐς τὸ ἔργον παιδοτριβεῖς· δέδοικα δὲ μὴ ἄτολμος [ὢν] καὶ δειλὸς ἔρωτος ἀθλητὴς γένωμαι." "Ἔρως, ὦ γενναῖε," ἔφη, "δειλίας οὐκ ἀνέχεται. ὁρᾶις αὐτοῦ τὸ σχῆμα ὡς ἔστι στρατιωτικόν· τόξον καὶ φαρέτρα καὶ βέλη καὶ πῦρ, ἀνδρεῖα πάντα καὶ τόλμης γέμοντα. τοιοῦτον οὖν ἐν σεαυτῶι θεὸν ἔχων δειλὸς εἶ καὶ φοβῆι; ὅρα μὴ καταψεύδηι τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐγώ σοι παρέξω. τὴν Κλειὼ γὰρ ἀπάξω μάλιστα ὅταν ἐπιτήδειον ἴδω καιρὸν τοῦ σε τῆι παρθένωι δύνασθαι καθ᾽ αὑτὸν συνεῖναι μόνηι."

5 Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐχώρησεν ἔξω τῶν θυρῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν γενόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατύρου παροξυνθεὶς ἤσκουν ἐμαυτὸν εἰς εὐτολμίαν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον· "μέχρι τίνος, ἄνανδρε, σιγᾶις; τί δὲ δειλὸς εἶ στρατιώτης ἀνδρείου θεοῦ; τὴν κόρην προσελθεῖν σοὶ περιμένεις;" εἶτα προσετίθην·

3.2 <ἐφ᾽> ὅσον Grenfell–Hunt ([4 litt.]σον Π^1) : ὅσον codd. οἴνου Π^1 : οἶνον codd. post τὴν ἄμπελον add. οἴνωι Π^1 4.2 ἡ Τύχη secl. Berger 4.3 ὀμμάτων μόνων W : ὀμμάτων μόνον M : ὀφθαλμῶν VGE 4.4 ὢν seclusi

"τί γάρ, ὦ κακόδαιμον, οὐ σωφρονεῖς; τί δὲ οὐκ ἐρᾶις ὧν σε δεῖ; παρθένον ἔνδον ἔχεις ἄλλην καλήν· ταύτης ἔρα, ταύτην βλέπε, ταύτην ἔξεστί σοι γαμεῖν." ἐδόκουν πεπεῖσθαι· κάτωθεν δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ὁ Ἔρως ἀντεφθέγγετο· "ναί, τολμηρέ, κατ' ἐμοῦ στρατεύηι καὶ ἀντιπαρατάττηι; ἵπταμαι καὶ τοξεύω καὶ φλέγω· πῶς δυνήσηι φυγεῖν; ἂν φυλάξηι μου τὸ τόξον, οὐκ ἔχεις φυλάξασθαι τὸ πῦρ. ἂν δὲ καὶ ταύτην κατασβέσηις σωφροσύνηι τὴν φλόγα, αὐτῶι σε καταλήψομαι τῶι πτερῶι."

6 Ταῦτα διαλεγόμενος ἔλαθον ἐπιστὰς ἀπροοράτως τῆι κόρηι [καὶ] ὠχρίασά τε ἰδὼν ἐξαίφνης, εἶτ' ἐφοινίχθην. μόνη δ' ἦν καὶ οὐδὲ ἡ Κλειὼ συμπαρῆν. ὅμως οὖν, ὡς ἂν τεθορυβημένος οὐκ ἔχων τί εἴπω "χαῖρε," ἔφην "δέσποινα." ἡ δὲ μειδιάσασα γλυκὺ καὶ ἐμφανίσασα διὰ τοῦ 2 γέλωτος ὅτι συνῆκε πῶς εἶπον τὸ 'χαῖρε, δέσποινα' εἶπεν· "ἐγὼ σή; μὴ τοῦτο εἴπηις." "καὶ μὴν πέπρακέ μέ τίς σοι θεῶν ὥσπερ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τῆι Ὀμφάληι." "τὸν Ἑρμῆν λέγεις; τούτωι τὴν πρᾶσιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ζεύς." καὶ 3 ἅμα ἐγέλασε. "ποῖον Ἑρμῆν; τί ληρεῖς" εἶπον "εἰδυῖα σαφῶς ὃ λέγω;" ὡς δὲ περιέπλεκον λόγους ἐκ λόγων, τὸ αὐτόματόν μοι συνήργησεν.

7 Ἔτυχε τῆι προτεραίαι ταύτης ἡμέραι περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἡ παῖς ψάλλουσα κιθάραι, ἐπιπαρῆν δὲ αὐτῆι καὶ ἡ Κλειὼ καὶ παρεκάθητο, διεβάδιζον δὲ ἐγώ· καί τις ἐξαίφνης μέλιττά ποθεν ἱπτᾶσα τῆς Κλειοῦς ἐπάταξε τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνέκραγεν, ἡ δὲ παῖς ἀναθοροῦσα καὶ 2 καταθεμένη τὴν κιθάραν κατενόει τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ἅμα παρήινει, λέγουσα μηδὲν ἄχθεσθαι· παύσειν γὰρ αὐτὴν τῆς ἀλγηδόνος δύο ἐπάισασα ῥήματα· διδαχθῆναι γὰρ αὐτὰ ὑπό τινος Αἰγυπτίας εἰς πληγὰς σφηκῶν καὶ μελιττῶν. καὶ ἅμα ἐπῄιδε· καὶ ἔλεγεν ἡ Κλειὼ μετὰ μικρὸν ῥάιων 3 γεγονέναι. τότε οὖν κατὰ τύχην μέλιττά τις ἢ σφὴξ περιβομβήσασα κύκλωι μου τὸ πρόσωπον παρέπτη· κἀγὼ λαμβάνω τι ἐνθύμιον καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλὼν τοῖς προσώποις προσεποιούμην πεπλῆχθαι καὶ ἀλγεῖν. ἡ δὲ παῖς προσελθοῦσα εἶλκε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο ποῖ παταχθείην. 4 κἀγώ, "κατὰ τοῦ χείλους" ἔφην. "ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἐπάιδεις, φιλτάτη;" ἡ δὲ προσῆλθέ τε καὶ ἐνέθηκεν ὡς ἐπάισουσα τὸ στόμα, καί τι ἐψιθύριζεν, ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ψαύουσά μου τῶν χειλέων. κἀγὼ κατεφίλουν σιωπῆι, 5 κλέπτων τῶν φιλημάτων τὸν ψόφον, ἡ δὲ ἀνοίγουσα καὶ κλείουσα τῶν χειλέων τὴν συμβολὴν τῶι τῆς ἐπωιδῆς ψιθυρίσματι φιλήματα ἐποίει τὴν ἐπωιδήν. κἀγὼ τότε ἤδη περιβαλὼν φανερῶς κατεφίλουν· ἡ δὲ διασχοῦσα "τί ποιεῖς;" ἔφη. "καὶ σὺ κατεπάιδεις;" "τὴν ἐπωιδόν" εἶπον "φιλῶ, ὅτι μου τὴν ὀδύνην ἰάσω." ὡς δὲ συνῆκεν ὃ λέγω καὶ ἐμειδίασε, 6

7.2 αὐτὰ Hercher : αὐτὴν codd. 7.3 τι WM : τὸ VGE F 7.4 ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς WM : ἐπιπολῆς VE : ἐπὶ πολὺ G F 7.5 διασχοῦσα VE F : γνοῦσα WM G

θαρσήσας εἶπον· "οἴμοι, φιλτάτη, πάλιν τέτρωμαι χαλεπώτερον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν καρδίαν κατέρρευσε τὸ τραῦμα καὶ ζητεῖ σου τὴν ἐπωιδήν. ἦ που καὶ σὺ μέλιτταν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος φέρεις· καὶ γὰρ μέλιτος γέμεις, καὶ
7 τιτρώσκει σου τὰ φιλήματα. ἀλλὰ δέομαι, κατέπαισον αὖθις καὶ μὴ ταχὺ τὴν ἐπωιδὴν παραδράμῃς καὶ πάλιν ἀγριάνῃς τὸ τραῦμα." καὶ ἅμα λέγων τὴν χεῖρα βιαιότερον περιέβαλλον καὶ ἐφίλουν ἐλευθεριώτερον· ἡ δὲ ἠνείχετο, κωλύουσα δῆθεν.

8 Ἐν τούτωι πόρρωθεν ἰδόντες προσιοῦσαν τὴν θεράπαιναν διελύθημεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἄκων καὶ λυπούμενος, ἡ δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἶχεν. ῥάιων οὖν ἐγεγόνειν καὶ μεστὸς ἐλπίδων· ἠισθόμην δὲ ἐπικαθημένου μοι τοῦ φιλήματος ὡς σώματος καὶ ἐφύλασσον ἀκριβῶς, ὡς θησαυρὸν τὸ φίλημα τηρῶν ἡδονῆς,
2 ὅπερ πρῶτόν ἐστιν ἐραστῆι γλυκύ. καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν τοῦ σώματος ὀργάνων τίκτεται· στόμα γὰρ φωνῆς ὄργανον· φωνὴ δὲ ψυχῆς σκιά. αἱ γὰρ τῶν στομάτων συμβολαὶ κιρνάμεναι καὶ ἐκπέμπουσαι κάτω
3 τὴν ἡδονὴν ἕλκουσι τὰς ψυχὰς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ φιλήματα. οὐκ οἶδα δὲ οὕτω πρότερον ἡσθείσης τῆς καρδίας· καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἔμαθον ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐρίζει πρὸς ἡδονὴν φιλήματι ἐρωτικῶι.

9 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ πότου καιρὸς ἦν, πάλιν ὁμοίως συνεπίνομεν. ὠινοχόει δὲ ὁ Σάτυρος ἡμῖν καί τι ποιεῖ πρᾶγμα ἐρωτικόν. ἐναλλάσσει τὰ ἐκπώματα καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν τῆι κόρηι προτίθησι, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνης ἐμοί, καὶ ἐγχέων
2 ἀμφοτέροις καὶ κερασάμενος ὤρεγεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπιτηρήσας τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἐκπώματος ἔνθα τὸ χεῖλος ἡ κόρη πίνουσα προσέθηκεν, ἐναρμοσάμενος ἔπινον, ἀποστολιμαῖον τοῦτο φίλημα ποιῶν, καὶ ἅμα κατεφίλουν τὸ
3 ἔκπωμα. ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδεν, συνῆκεν ὅτι τοῦ χείλους αὐτῆς καταφιλῶ καὶ τὴν σκιάν. ἀλλ' ὅ γε Σάτυρος συμφυράσας πάλιν τὰ ἐκπώματα ἐνήλλαξεν ἡμῖν. τότε ἤδη καὶ τὴν κόρην εἶδον τὰ ἐμὰ μιμουμένην καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πίνουσαν, καὶ ἔχαιρον ἤδη πλέον. καὶ τρίτον ἐγένετο τοῦτο καὶ τέταρτον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτως ἀλλήλοις προεπίνομεν τὰ φιλήματα.

10 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ὁ Σάτυρός μοι προσελθὼν ἔφη· "νῦν μὲν ἀνδρίζεσθαι καιρός. ἡ γὰρ μήτηρ τῆς κόρης, ὡς οἶσθα, μαλακίζεται καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀναπαύεται· μόνη δὲ ἡ παῖς βαδιεῖται κατὰ τὰ εἰθισμένα τῆς Κλειοῦς
2 ἑπομένης, πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν ὕπνον τραπῆναι. ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ ταύτην ἀπάξω

7.7 (ante πάλιν) καὶ Π¹ : μὴ codd. 8.1 εἶχεν Π¹ : om. codd. ὡς (ante σώματος) Π¹ : ὥσπερ codd. ἀκριβῶς codd. : ἀληθῶς Π¹ ἐστιν scripsi : ἐστι Π¹, codd. ἐραστῆι codd. : om. Π¹ 8.2 κάτω Π¹ : κατὰ τῶν στέρνων WM : διὰ τῶν στέρνων VGE : τῶν στέρνων D 8.3 οὐ[δ]ὲν Π¹ : μηδὲν codd. 9.1. πότου Π¹ : δείπνου codd. ὁμοίως om. VGE 9.2 ἐπιτηρήσας codd. : επετηρ Π¹ προσέθηκεν Grenfell–Hunt (]ηκεν Π¹) : προσέθιγεν codd. 9.3 συμφυράσας VGE : συμφορήσας WM

διαλεγόμενος." ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῇι Κλειοῖ μὲν αὐτός, ἐγὼ δὲ τῇι παιδὶ διαλαχόντες ἐφηδρεύομεν. καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἀπεσπᾶτο μὲν ἡ Κλειώ, ἡ δὲ παρθένος ἐν τῶι περιπάτωι κατελέλειπτο. ἐπιτηρήσας οὖν ὅτε τὸ 3
πολὺ τῆς αὐγῆς ἐμαραίνετο, πρόσειμι θρασύτερος γενόμενος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης προσβολῆς, ὥσπερ στρατιώτης ἤδη νενικηκὼς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καταπεφρονηκώς· πολλὰ γὰρ ἦν τὰ τότε ὁπλίζοντά με θαρρεῖν· οἶνος, ἔρως, ἐλπίς, ἐρημία. καὶ οὐδὲν εἰπών, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ συγκείμενον ἔργον ὡς εἶχον περιχυθεὶς τὴν κόρην κατεφίλουν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐπεχείρουν 4
τι προῦργου ποιεῖν, ψόφος τις ἡμῶν κατόπιν γίνεται· καὶ ταραχθέντες ἀνεπηδήσαμεν. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπέκεινα τρέπεται τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα, σφόδρα ἀνιώμενος, ἔργον οὕτω καλὸν ἀπολέσας, καὶ τὸν ψόφον λοιδορῶν. ἐν τούτωι δὲ καὶ ὁ Σάτυρος ὑπαντιάζει με φαιδρῶι 5
τῶι προσώπωι· καθορᾶν γάρ μοι ἐδόκει ὅσα ἐπράττομεν, ὑπό τινι τῶν δένδρων λοχῶν μή τις ἡμῖν ἐπέλθηι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ψόφον, προσιόντα θεασάμενός τινα.

Ὀλίγων δὲ ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν ὁ πατήρ μοι τοὺς γάμους συνεκρότει **11**
θᾶττον ἢ διεγνώκει. ἐνύπνια γὰρ αὐτὸν διετάραττε πολλά. ἔδοξεν ἄγειν ἡμῶν τοὺς γάμους, ἤδη δὲ ἅψαντος αὐτοῦ τὰς δᾳδας ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ· ἦι καὶ μᾶλλον ἠπείγετο συναγαγεῖν ἡμᾶς. τοῦτο δὲ εἰς τὴν 2
ὑστεραίαν παρεσκευάζετο. ἐώνητο δὲ τῆι κόρηι τὰ πρὸς τὸν γάμον· περιδέραιον μὲν λίθων ποικίλων, ἐσθῆτα δὲ τὸ πᾶν μὲν πορφυρᾶν, ἔνθα δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐσθῆσιν ἡ χώρα τῆς πορφύρας, ἐκεῖ χρυσὸς ἦν. ἤριζον δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ λίθοι. ὑάκινθος μὲν ῥόδον ἦν ἐν λίθωι, ἀμέθυσος 3
δὲ ἐπορφύρετο τοῦ χρυσοῦ πλησίον. ἐν μέσωι δὲ τρεῖς ἦσαν λίθοι, τὴν χροιὰν ἐπάλληλοι· συγκείμενοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τρεῖς· μέλαινα μὲν ἡ κρηπὶς τοῦ λίθου, τὸ δὲ μέσον σῶμα λευκὸν τῶι μέλανι συνυφαίνετο, ἐξῆς δὲ τῶι λευκῶι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπυρρία κορυφούμενον· ὁ λίθος δὲ τῶι χρυσῶι στεφανούμενος ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμιμεῖτο χρυσοῦν. τῆς δὲ ἐσθῆτος οὐ πάρεργον 4
εἶχεν ἡ πορφύρα τὴν βαφήν, ἀλλ' οἵαν μυθολογοῦσι Τύριοι τοῦ ποιμένος εὑρεῖν τὸν κύνα, ἣι καὶ μέχρι τούτου βάπτουσιν Ἀφροδίτης τὸν πέπλον. ἦν γὰρ χρόνος ὅτε τῆς πορφύρας ὁ κόσμος ἀνθρώποις ἀπόρρητος ἦν· μικρὸς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκάλυπτε κόχλος ἐν κοίλωι μυχῶι. ἁλιεὺς ἀγρεύει τὴν 5
ἄγραν ταύτην. ὁ μὲν ἰχθὺν προσεδόκησεν, ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοῦ κόχλου τὴν τραχύτητα, ἐλοιδόρει τὴν ἄγραν καὶ ἔρριψεν ὡς θαλάσσης σκύβαλον. εὑρίσκει δὲ κύων τὸ ἔρμαιον καὶ καταθραύει τοῖς ὀδοῦσι, καὶ τῶι στόματι

10.4 αὐτῆς Salmasius : αὐτῆς codd. 11.3 συνυφαίνετο W : συνεφαίνετο cett.

τοῦ κυνὸς περιρρέει τοῦ ἄνθους τὸ αἷμα, καὶ βάπτει τὸ αἷμα τὴν γένυν
6 καὶ ὑφαίνει τοῖς χείλεσι τὴν πορφύραν. ὁ ποιμὴν ὁρᾶι τὰ χείλη τοῦ κυνὸς
ἡμαγμένα καὶ τραῦμα νομίσας τὴν βαφὴν προσήιει καὶ ἀπέπλυνε τῆι
θαλάσσηι, καὶ τὸ αἷμα λαμπρότερον ἐπορφύρετο· ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν
7 ἔθιγε, τὴν πορφύραν εἶχεν ἡ χείρ. συνῆκεν οὖν τοῦ κόχλου τὴν φύσιν
ὁ ποιμήν, ὅτι φάρμακον ἔχει κάλλους πεφυτευμένον· καὶ λαβὼν μαλλὸν
ἐρίου καθῆκεν εἰς τὸν χηραμὸν αὐτοῦ [τὸ ἔριον], ζητῶν τοῦ κόχλου τὰ
μυστήρια· τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν γένυν τοῦ κυνὸς ἡμάσσετο· καὶ τότε τὴν
8 εἰκόνα τῆς πορφύρας ἐδιδάσκετο. λαβὼν δή τινας λίθους περιθραύει τὸ
τεῖχος τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ τὸ ἄδυτον ἀνοίγει τῆς πορφύρας καὶ θησαυρὸν
εὑρίσκει βαφῆς.

12 Ἔθυεν οὖν τότε ὁ πατὴρ προτέλεια τῶν γάμων. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσα,
ἀπωλώλειν καὶ ἐζήτουν μηχανὴν δι' ἧς δυναίμην ἀναβαλέσθαι τὸν γάμον.
σκοποῦντος δέ μου θόρυβος ἐξαίφνης γίνεται κατὰ τὸν ἀνδρῶνα τῆς
2 οἰκίας. ἐγεγόνει δέ τι τοιοῦτον· ἐπειδὴ θυσάμενος ὁ πατὴρ ἔτυχε καὶ τὰ
θύματα ἐπέκειτο τοῖς βωμοῖς, ἀετὸς ἄνωθεν καταπτὰς ἁρπάζει τὸ ἱερεῖον·
σοβούντων δὲ πλέον οὐδὲν ἦν· ὁ γὰρ ὄρνις ὤιχετο φέρων τὴν ἄγραν.
ἐδόκει τοίνυν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· καὶ δὴ ἐπέσχον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τοὺς
γάμους. καλεσάμενος δὲ μάντεις ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τερατοσκόπους τὸν οἰωνὸν
3 διηγεῖται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν δεῖν καλλιερῆσαι Ξενίωι Διῒ νυκτὸς μεσούσης ἐπὶ
θάλατταν ἥκοντας· ὁ γὰρ ὄρνις ἔτυχεν ἱπτάμενος ἐκεῖ. [τὸ δὲ ἔργον εὐθὺς
ἀπέβη· τὸν γὰρ ἀετὸν ἀναπτάντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν συνέβη φανῆναι
μηκέτι.] ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἐγένετο τὸν ἀετὸν ὑπερεπήινουν καὶ δικαίως
ἔλεγον ἁπάντων ὀρνίθων εἶναι βασιλέα. οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ ἀπέβη τοῦ
τέρατος τὸ ἔργον.

13 Νεανίσκος ἦν Βυζάντιος, ὄνομα Καλλισθένης, ὀρφανὸς καὶ πλούσιος,
ἄσωτος δὲ καὶ πολυτελής. οὗτος ἀκούων τὴν Σωστράτου θυγατέρα
εἶναι καλήν, ἰδὼν δὲ οὐδέποτε, ἤθελεν αὑτῶι ταύτην γενέσθαι γυναῖκα.
καὶ ἦν ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐραστής· τοσαύτη γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ὕβρις, ὡς καὶ
τοῖς ὠσὶν εἰς ἔρωτα τρυφᾶν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχειν ἀπὸ ῥημάτων ἃ τῆι
2 ψυχῆι διακονοῦσιν τρωθέντες ὀφθαλμοί. προσελθὼν οὖν τῶι Σωστράτωι
πρὶν ἢ τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐπιπεσεῖν, ἠιτεῖτο τὴν κόρην· ὁ
δὲ βδελυττόμενος τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἠρνήσατο. θυμὸς ἴσχει τὸν
Καλλισθένην καὶ ἠτιμᾶσθαι νομίσαντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωστράτου καὶ ἄλλως
ἐρῶντα· ἀναπλάττων γὰρ ἑαυτῶι τῆς παιδὸς τὸ κάλλος καὶ φανταζόμενος

11.5 ὑφαίνει codd. : ὑποφαίνει Dawe 11.7 τὸ ἔριον seclusi 12.3 μεσούσης VGE : μέσης WM τὸ δὲ ἔργον . . . φανῆναι μηκέτι secl. Jacobs^{2} 13.1 αὑτῶι Salmasius : αὐτῶι codd. ταῦτα codd. plur. : ταὐτὰ M

τὰ ἀόρατα ἔλαθε σφόδρα κακῶς διακείμενος. ἐπιβουλεύει δ' οὖν καὶ τὸν 3
Σώστρατον ἀμύνασθαι τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ αὐτῶι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελέσαι.
νόμου γὰρ ὄντος Βυζαντίοις, εἴ τις ἁρπάσας παρθένον φθάσας ποιήσειε
γυναῖκα, γάμον ἔχειν τὴν βίαν, προσεῖχε τούτωι τῶι νόμωι. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ἐζήτει καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον.

Ἐν τούτωι δὲ τοῦ πολέμου περιστάντος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς **14**
ἐκκειμένης μεμαθήκει μὲν ἕκαστα τούτων, οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
εἶχετο. καὶ τοιοῦτό τι αὐτῶι συνήργησε. χρησμὸν ἴσχουσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι
τοιόνδε·

νῆσός τις ‹πόλις› ἔστι φυτώνυμον αἶμα λαχοῦσα,
ἰσθμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο φέρουσα,
ἔνθ' Ἥφαιστος ἔχων χαίρει γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην·
κεῖθι θυηπολίην σε φέρειν κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ.

ἀπορούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τί λέγει τὸ μάντευμα, Σώστρατος (τοῦ πολέμου 2
γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, στρατηγὸς ἦν οὗτος) "ὥρα πέμπειν ἡμᾶς θυσίαν εἰς
Τύρον" εἶπεν "Ἡρακλεῖ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἔστι πάντα ἐνταῦθα.
φυτώνυμον γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν αὐτήν, ἐπεὶ Φοινίκων ἡ νῆσος· ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ
φυτόν. ἐρίζει δὲ περὶ ταύτης γῆ καὶ θάλασσα. ἔλκει δὲ ἡ γῆ, ἡ δὲ εἰς
ἀμφότερα αὑτὴν ἥρμοσε. καὶ γὰρ ἐν θαλάσσηι κάθηται καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκε 3
τὴν γῆν· συνδεῖ γὰρ αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον στενὸς αὐχήν, καὶ ἔστιν
ὥσπερ τῆς νήσου τράχηλος. οὐκ ἐρρίζωται δὲ κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλὰ 4
τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπορρεῖ κάτωθεν. ὑπόκειται δὲ πορθμὸς [κάτωθεν] ἰσθμῶι· καὶ
γίνεται τὸ θέαμα καινόν, πόλις ἐν θαλάσσηι καὶ νῆσος ἐν γῆι. Ἀθηνᾶν 5
δὲ Ἥφαιστον ἔχειν· ἐλαίαν ἠνίξατο καὶ πῦρ, ἃ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις
συνοικεῖ. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἱερὸν ἐν περιβόλωι· ἐλαία μὲν ἀναθάλλει φαιδροῖς
τοῖς κλάδοις, πεφύτευται δὲ σὺν αὐτῆι τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἀνάπτει περὶ τοὺς
πτόρθους πολλὴν τὴν φλόγα· ἡ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς αἰθάλη τὸ φυτὸν γεωργεῖ.
αὕτη πυρὸς φιλία καὶ φυτοῦ· οὕτως οὐ φεύγει τὸν Ἥφαιστον Ἀθηνᾶ." 6
καὶ ὁ Χαιρεφῶν συστράτηγος ὢν τοῦ Σωστράτου μείζων, ἐπεὶ πατρόθεν
ἦν Τύριος ‹ἐκεῖνος›, ἐκθειάζων αὐτόν "πάντα μὲν τὸν χρησμόν" εἶπεν
"ἐξηγήσω καλῶς· μὴ μέντοι θαύμαζε τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος φύσιν. ἐθεασάμην γὰρ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα μυστήρια. τὸ γοῦν 7

13.3 βίαν codd. : ζημίαν Cobet 14.1 εἶχετο WM G : ἦρχετο VE πόλις add. Jacobs[2] (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 14.34) κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ codd. : κελόμην Ἡρακλεῖ *Anth. Pal.* 14.34 : fort. κέλομ' Ἡρακλῆι 14.2 post ἔλκει add. Cobet μὲν ἡ θάλασσα, ἔλκει 14.4 post πορθμὸς seclusi κάτωθεν 14.6 Ἥφαιστον Ἀθηνᾶ codd :]στον περατουτο[Π[2] (πέρα τοῦ τόπου Poethke) πατρόθεν ἦν codd. : πατρος εν Π[2] ‹ἐκεῖνος› addidi ante καλῶς add. καὶ WMD F

τῆς Σικελικῆς πηγῆς ὕδωρ κεκερασμένον ἔχει πῦρ· καὶ φλόγα μὲν ὄψει κάτωθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἁλλομένην ἄνω· θιγόντι δέ σοι τὸ ὕδωρ ψυχρόν ἐστιν οἷόνπερ χιών, καὶ οὔτε τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος κατασβέννυται οὔτε τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς φλέγεται, ἀλλ' ὕδατός εἰσιν ἐν τῇι κρήνηι καὶ
8 πυρὸς σπονδαί. ἔπειτα καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰβηρικός· εἰ μὲν ἴδοις αὐτὸν εὐθύς, οὐδὲν ἄλλου κρείττων ἐστὶ ποταμοῦ· ἢν δὲ ἀκοῦσαι θέλῃις τοῦ ὕδατος λαλοῦντος, μικρὸν ἀνάμεινον ἐκπετάσας τὰ ὦτα. ἐὰν γὰρ ὀλίγος ἄνεμος εἰς τὰς δίνας ἐμπέσῃι, τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ ὡς χορδὴ κρούεται, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα
9 τοῦ ὕδατος πλῆκτρον γίνεται, τὸ ῥεῦμα δὲ ὡς κιθάρα λαλεῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ λίμνη Λιβυκὴ μιμεῖται γῆν Ἰνδικήν, καὶ ἴσασιν αὐτῆς τὸ ἀπόρρητον αἱ Λιβύων παρθένοι, ὅτι τὸ ὕδωρ ἔχει πλούσιον. ὁ δὲ πλοῦτος ταύτηι κάτω τεταμίευται τῆι τῶν ὑδάτων ἰλύϊ δεδεμένος, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ χρυσιοῦ πηγή. κοντὸν οὖν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ βαπτίζουσι πίσσηι πεφαρμαγμένον ἀνοίγουσί
10 τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ κλεῖθρα. ὁ δὲ κοντὸς πρὸς τὸν χρυσὸν οἷον πρὸς ἰχθὺν ἄγκιστρον γίνεται, ἀγρεύει γὰρ αὐτόν· ἡ δὲ πίσσα δέλεαρ γίνεται τῆς ἄγρας· ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐμπέσῃι τῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ γονῆς, τὸ μὲν προσήψατο μόνον, ἡ πίσσα δὲ εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον ἥρπασε τὴν ἄγραν. οὕτως ἐκ ποταμοῦ Λιβυκοῦ χρυσὸς ἁλιεύεται."

15 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν Τύρον ἔπεμπε, καὶ τῇι πόλει συνδοκοῦν. ὁ οὖν Καλλισθένης διαπράττεται τῶν θεωρῶν εἷς γενέσθαι· καὶ ταχὺ καταπλεύσας εἰς τὴν Τύρον καὶ ἐκμαθὼν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκίαν ἐφήδρευε ταῖς γυναιξίν. αἱ δὲ ὀψόμεναι τὴν θυσίαν ἐξήιεσαν· καὶ γὰρ
2 ἦν πολυτελής. πολλὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν θυμιαμάτων πομπή, ποικίλη δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀνθέων συμπλοκή. τὰ θυμιάματα κασσία καὶ λιβανωτὸς καὶ κρόκος· τὰ ἄνθη νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδα καὶ μυρρίναι· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀναπνοὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν θυμιαμάτων ἤριζεν ὀδμήν. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀναπεμπόμενον εἰς τὸν
3 ἀέρα τὴν ὀδμὴν ἐκεράννυε, καὶ ἦν ἄνεμος ἡδονῆς. τὰ δὲ ἱερεῖα πολλὰ μὲν ἦν καὶ ποικίλα, διέπρεπον δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ τοῦ Νείλου βόες. βοῦς γὰρ Αἰγύπτιος οὐ τὸ μέγεθος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χροιὰν εὐτυχεῖ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέγεθος πάντηι μέγας· τὸν αὐχένα παχύς, τὸν νῶτον πλατύς, τὴν γαστέρα πολύς, τὸ κέρας οὐχ ὡς ὁ Σικελικὸς εὐτελὴς οὐδ' ὡς ὁ Κύπριος δυσειδής, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κροτάφων ὄρθιον ἀναβαῖνον, κατὰ μικρὸν ἑκατέρωθεν κυρτούμενον τὰς κορυφὰς συνάγει τοσοῦτον ὅσον αἱ τῶν κεράτων διεστᾶσιν ἀρχαί· καὶ τὸ θέαμα κυκλουμένης σελήνης ἐστὶν

14.7 ἄνω Salmasius : ἄνωθεν codd. 14.8 ἔπειτα scripsi : ἐπεὶ codd. Ἰβηρικός codd. : Ἰσμαρικός Laplace[3] 14.10 ἁλιεύεται VGE F : ἀγρεύεται WMD 15.1 διαπράττεται Berger : διαπλάττεται VGE : πλάττεται WM F 15.2 τὴν ὀδμὴν VGE F : ἡδονὴν WM 15.3 πάντηι Garnaud : πάντη codd. : πάνυ Jacobs[2]

εἰκών. ἡ χροιὰ δὲ οἵαν Ὅμηρος τοὺς τοῦ Θραικὸς ἵππους ἐπαινεῖ. βαδίζει 4
δὲ ταῦρος ὑψαυχενῶν καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν
ἐστι βασιλεύς. εἰ δὲ ὁ μῦθος Εὐρώπης ἀληθής, Αἰγύπτιον βοῦν ὁ Ζεὺς
ἐμιμήσατο.

Ἔτυχεν οὖν ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ μήτηρ τότε μαλακῶς ἔχουσα· σκηψαμένη δὲ **16**
καὶ ἡ Λευκίππη νοσεῖν ἔνδον ὑπέμεινε (συνέκειτο γὰρ ἡμῖν εἰς ταὐτὸν
ἐλθεῖν, ὡς ἂν τῶν πολλῶν ἐξιόντων), ὥστε συνέβη τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν
ἐμὴν μετὰ τῆς Λευκίππης μητρὸς προελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ Καλλισθένης τὴν μὲν 2
Λευκίππην οὐχ ἑωρακώς ποτε, τὴν δὲ Καλλιγόνην ἰδὼν τὴν ἀδελφὴν
τὴν ἐμήν, νομίσας Λευκίππην εἶναι (ἐγνώρισε γὰρ τοῦ Σωστράτου τὴν
γυναῖκα), πυθόμενος οὐδέν (ἦν γὰρ ἑαλωκὼς ἐκ τῆς θέας), δείκνυσιν ἑνὶ
τῶν οἰκετῶν τὴν κόρην, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ πιστότατος, καὶ κελεύει λῃστὰς ἐπ'
αὐτὴν συγκροτῆσαι, καταλέξας τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἁρπαγῆς. πανήγυρις δὲ
ἐπέκειτο, καθ' ἣν ἠκηκόει πάσας τὰς παρθένους ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ θάλατταν.
ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ἀφωσιωμένος ἀπῆλθεν.

Ναῦν δὲ εἶχεν ἰδίαν, τοῦτο προκατασκευάσας οἴκοθεν εἰ τύχοι τῆς **17**
ἐπιχειρήσεως. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι θεωροὶ ἀπέπλευσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μικρὸν
ἀπεσάλευε τῆς γῆς, ἅμα μὲν ὡς δοκοίη τοῖς πολίταις ἔπεσθαι, ἅμα δὲ ἵνα
μή, πλησίον τῆς Τύρου τοῦ σκάφους ὄντος, κατάφωρος γένοιτο μετὰ τὴν
ἁρπαγήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ Σάραπτα κώμην Τυρίων ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ 2
κειμένην, ἐνταῦθα προσπορίζεται λέμβον, δίδωσι δὲ τῶι Ζήνωνι· τοῦτο
γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῶι οἰκέτῃ, ὃν ἐπὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν παρεσκευάκει. ὁ δὲ 3
(ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως εὔρωστος τὸ σῶμα καὶ φύσει πειρατικός) ταχὺ μὲν
ἐξεῦρε λῃστὰς ἁλιεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης ἐκείνης καὶ δῆτα ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπὶ
τὴν Τύρον. ἔστι δὲ μικρὸν ἐπίνειον Τυρίων, νησίδιον ἀπέχον ὀλίγον
τῆς Τύρου (Ῥοδόπης αὐτὸ τάφον οἱ Τύριοι λέγουσιν), ἔνθα ὁ λέμβος
ἐφήδρευεν.

Πρὸ δὲ τῆς πανηγύρεως ἦν ὁ Καλλισθένης προσεδόκα γίνεται δὴ τὰ **18**
τοῦ ἀετοῦ καὶ τῶν μάντεων· καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρεσκευαζόμεθα
νύκτωρ ὡς θυσόμενοι τῶι θεῶι. τούτων δὲ τὸν Ζήνωνα ἐλάνθανεν οὐδέν·
ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν βαθείας ἑσπέρας, ἡμεῖς μὲν προήλθομεν, ὁ δὲ
εἵπετο. ἄρτι δὲ γενομένων ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶι χείλει τῆς θαλάσσης, ὁ μὲν τὸ 2
συγκείμενον ἀνέτεινε σημεῖον, ὁ δὲ λέμβος ἐξαίφνης προσέπλει, καὶ ἐπεὶ
πλησίον ἐγένετο, ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῶι νεανίσκοι δέκα. ὀκτὼ δὲ ἑτέρους ἐπὶ 3
τῆς γῆς εἶχον προλοχίσαντες, οἳ γυναικείας μὲν εἶχον ἐσθῆτας καὶ τῶν
γενείων ἐψίλωντο τὰς τρίχας· ἔφερον δὲ ἕκαστος ὑπὸ κόλπωι ξίφος,

16.1 ἐμὴ VGE : om. cett. 17.3 ἀπέπλευσεν VGE : ἀνέπλευσεν WM Ῥοδόπης WM G : Ῥοδώπιδος VE 18.2 γενομένων VGE F : λουομένων WM

ἐκόμιζον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ θυσίαν, ὡς ἂν ἥκιστα ὑποπτευθεῖεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ
4 ὠιόμεθα γυναῖκας εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετίθεμεν τὴν πυράν, ἐξαίφνης βοῶντες
συντρέχουσι καὶ τὰς μὲν δᾳδας ἡμῶν ἀποσβεννύουσι, φευγόντων δὲ
ἀτάκτως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως, τὰ ξίφη γυμνώσαντες ἁρπάζουσι τὴν
ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ἐνθέμενοι τῶι σκάφει, ἐμβάντες εὐθὺς ὄρνιθος δίκην
5 ἀφίπτανται. ἡμῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον, οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰδότες οὔτε ἑωρακότες,
οἱ δὲ ἅμα τε εἶδον καὶ ἐβόων· "λῃσταὶ Καλλιγόνην ἔχουσι." τὸ δὲ πλοῖον
ἤδη μέσην ἐπέραινε τὴν θάλασσαν. ὡς δὲ τοῖς Σαράπτοις προσέσχον,
πόρρωθεν ὁ Καλλισθένης τὸ σημεῖον ἰδὼν ὑπήντησεν ἐπιπλεύσας καὶ
6 δέχεται μὲν τὴν κόρην, πλεῖ δὲ εὐθὺς πελάγιος. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀνέπνευσα μὲν
οὕτω διαλυθέντων μοι παραδόξως τῶν γάμων, ἠχθόμην δὲ ὅμως ὑπὲρ
ἀδελφῆς περιπεσούσης τοιαύτηι συμφορᾶι.

19 Ὀλίγας δὲ ἡμέρας διαλιπὼν πρὸς τὴν Λευκίππην διελεγόμην· "μέχρι
τίνος ἐπὶ τῶν φιλημάτων ἱστάμεθα, φιλτάτη; καλὰ τὰ προοίμια·
προσθῶμεν ἤδη τι καὶ ἐρωτικόν. φέρε ἀνάγκην ἀλλήλοις ἐπιθῶμεν
πίστεως. ἂν γὰρ ἡμᾶς Ἀφροδίτη μυσταγωγήσηι, οὐ μή τις ἄλλος κρειττων
2 γένηται τῆς θεοῦ." ταῦτα πολλάκις κατεπάιδων ἐπεπείκειν τὴν κόρην
ὑποδέξασθαί με τῶι θαλάμωι νυκτός, τῆς Κλειοῦς συνεργούσης, ἥτις ἦν
3 αὐτῆι θαλαμηπόλος. εἶχε δὲ ὁ θάλαμος αὐτῆς οὕτως· χωρίον ἦν μέγα
τέτταρα οἰκήματα ἔχον, δύο μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιά, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα· μέσος δὲ
διεῖργε στενωπὸς ὁδὸς τὰ οἰκήματα· θύρα δὲ ἐν ἀρχῆι τοῦ στενωποῦ μία
4 ἐκλείετο· ταύτην εἶχον τὴν καταγωγὴν αἱ γυναῖκες. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνδοτέρω
τῶν οἰκημάτων ἥ τε παρθένος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς διειλήφεσαν, ἑκάτερα
τὰ ἀντικρύ, τὰ δὲ ἔξω δύο τὰ πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον, τὸ μὲν ἡ Κλειὼ τὸ κατὰ
5 τὴν παρθένον, τὸ δὲ ταμεῖον ἦν. κατακοιμίζουσα δὲ ἀεὶ τὴν Λευκίππην ἡ
μήτηρ ἔκλειεν ἔνδοθεν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ στενωποῦ θύραν· ἔξωθεν δέ τις ἕτερος
ἐπέκλειε καὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἔβαλλε διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς· ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα ἐφύλαττε
καὶ περὶ τὴν ἕω καλέσασα τὸν εἰς τοῦτο ἐπιτεταγμένον διέβαλλε πάλιν
6 τὰς κλεῖς, ὅπως ἀνοίξειε. ταύταις οὖν ἴσας μηχανησάμενος ὁ Σάτυρος
γενέσθαι τὴν ἄνοιξιν πειρᾶται, καὶ ὡς εὗρε δυνατὴν τὴν Κλειὼ [τε]
ἐπεπείκει, καὶ τῆς κόρης συνειδυίας, μηδὲν ἀντιπρᾶξαι [κόρηι] τῆι τέχνηι.
ταῦτα ἦν τὰ συγκείμενα.

18.5 τοῖς Σαράπτοις F : τῆι Σαρεπτᾶι VGE : τοῖς Σαράπτιοις W : τοῖς Σαράπιοις M 18.6 ὅμως VGE : οὕτως WM F 19.3 διεῖργε VGE : εἶργε WM : διῆγε F ὁδὸς del. Hercher 19.5 ἐπέκλειε V F : ἀπέκλειε cett. 19.6 ante τὴν Κλειὼ lacunam prop. O'Sullivan τε del. Jacobs² : γε Garnaud ἐπεπείκει codd. : πεπείκει Reeve κόρηι del. Jacobs²

20 Ἦν δέ τις αὐτῶν οἰκέτης πολυπράγμων καὶ λάλος καὶ λίχνος καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις, ὄνομα Κώνωψ. οὗτός μοι ἐδόκει πόρρωθεν ἐπιτηρεῖν τὰ πραττόμενα ἡμῖν· μάλιστα δέ, ὅπερ ἦν, ὑποπτεύσας μή τι νύκτωρ ἡμῖν πραχθῇ, διενυκτέρευε μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἑσπέρας, ἀναπετάσας τοῦ δωματίου τὰς θύρας, ὥστε ἔργον ἦν αὐτὸν λαθεῖν. ὁ οὖν Σάτυρος, 2 βουλόμενος αὐτὸν εἰς φιλίαν ἀγαγεῖν, προσέπαιζε πολλάκις καὶ Κώνωπα ἐκάλει καὶ ἔσκωπτε τοὔνομα σὺν γέλωτι. καὶ οὗτος εἰδὼς τοῦ Σατύρου τὴν τέχνην προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἀντιπαίζειν καὶ αὐτός, ἐνετίθει δὲ τῇι παιδιᾶι τῆς γνώμης τὸ ἄσπονδον. λέγει δὴ πρὸς αὐτόν· "ἐπειδὴ καταμωκᾶι μου 3 καὶ τοὔνομα, φέρε σοι μῦθον ἀπὸ κώνωπος εἴπω."

21 "Ὁ λέων κατεμέμφετο τὸν Προμηθέα πολλάκις, ὅτι μέγαν μὲν αὐτὸν ἔπλασε καὶ καλὸν καὶ τὴν μὲν γένυν ὤπλισε τοῖς ὀδοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ πόδας ἐκράτυνε τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἐποίησέ τε τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων δυνατώτερον· 'ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος' ἔφασκε 'τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα φοβοῦμαι.' καὶ ὁ Προμηθεὺς ἐπιστὰς 2 ἔφη· 'τί με μάτην αἰτιᾶι; τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὰ πάντα ἔχεις ὅσα πλάττειν ἠδυνάμην, ἡ δὲ σὴ ψυχὴ πρὸς τοῦτο μόνον μαλακίζεται.' ἔκλαιεν οὖν ἑαυτὸν ὁ λέων καὶ τῆς δειλίας κατεμέμφετο καὶ τέλος ἀποθανεῖν ἤθελεν. οὕτω δὲ γνώμης ἔχων ἐλέφαντι περιτυγχάνει καὶ προσαγορεύσας εἱστήκει 3 διαλεγόμενος. καὶ ὁρῶν διὰ παντὸς τὰ ὦτα κινοῦντα, 'τί πάσχεις;' ἔφη. 'καὶ τί δή ποτε οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἀτρεμεῖ σου τὸ οὖς;' καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας, κατὰ 4 τύχην παραπτάντος αὐτῶι κώνωπος, 'ὁρᾶις' ἔφη 'τοῦτο τὸ βραχὺ τὸ βομβοῦν; ἦν εἰσδύηι μου τῆι τῆς ἀκοῆς ὁδῶι, τέθνηκα.' καὶ ὁ λέων, 'τί οὖν ἔτι ἀποθνήισκειν,' ἔφη, 'με δεῖ, τοσοῦτον ὄντα [καὶ] ἐλέφαντος εὐτυχέστερον ὅσον κρείττων κώνωπος ἀλεκτρυών;' ὁρᾶις ὅσον ἰσχύος ὁ κώνωψ ἔχει, ὡς καὶ ἐλέφαντα φοβεῖν." συνεὶς οὖν ὁ Σάτυρος τὸ ὕπουλον 5 αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων, ἠρέμα μειδιῶν "ἄκουσον κἀμοῦ τινα λόγον" εἶπεν "ἀπὸ κώνωπος καὶ λέοντος, ὃν ἀκήκοά τινος τῶν φιλοσόφων· χαρίζομαι δέ σοι τοῦ μύθου τὸν ἐλέφαντα."

22 "Λέγει τοίνυν κώνωψ ἀλαζών ποτε πρὸς τὸν λέοντα· 'εἶτα κἀμοῦ βασιλεύειν νομίζεις ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων; ἀλλ' οὔτε μου καλλίων οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερος ἔφυς οὔτε μείζων. ἐπεὶ τί σοι πρῶτόν ἐστιν ἀλκή; ἀμύσσεις 2 τοῖς ὄνυξι καὶ δάκνεις τοῖς ὀδοῦσι. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ ποιεῖ μαχομένη γυνή; ποῖον δὲ μέγεθος ἢ κάλλος σε κοσμεῖ; στέρνον πλατύ, ὦμοι παχεῖς καὶ πολλὴ περὶ τὸν αὐχένα κόμη. τὴν κατόπιν οὖν αἰσχύνην οὐχ ὁρᾶις; ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγεθος μὲν ὁ ἀὴρ ὅλος, ὅσον μου καταλαμβάνει τὸ πτερόν, κάλλος δὲ αἱ τῶν λειμώνων κόμαι· αἱ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ὥσπερ ἐσθῆτες, ἃς ὅταν

20.3 καταμωκᾶι VGE : καταμωμᾶι WM F 21.4 ante ἐλέφαντος seclusi καὶ

3 θέλω παῦσαι τὴν πτῆσιν ἐνδύομαι. τὴν δὲ ἀνδρείαν μου μὴ καὶ γελοῖον
ἦι καταλέγειν· ὄργανον γὰρ ὅλος εἰμὶ πολέμου. μετὰ μὲν σάλπιγγος
παρατάττομαι, σάλπιγξ δέ μοι καὶ βέλος τὸ στόμα· ὥστε εἰμὶ καὶ
αὐλητὴς καὶ τοξότης. ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ ὀϊστὸς καὶ τόξον γίνομαι· τοξεύει γάρ
μου διαέριον τὸ πτερόν, ἐμπεσὼν δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ βέλους ποιῶ τὸ τραῦμα· ὁ
δὲ παταχθεὶς ἐξαίφνης βοᾶι καὶ τὸν τετρωκότα ζητεῖ. ἐγὼ δὲ παρὼν οὐ
πάρειμι. ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ φεύγω καὶ μένω, καὶ περιϊππεύω τὸν ἄνθρωπον
τῶι πτερῶι, γελῶ δὲ αὐτὸν βλέπων περὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν ὀρχούμενον.
4 ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ λόγων; ἀρχώμεθα μάχης.' ἅμα λέγων ἐμπίπτει τῶι λέοντι
καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐμπηδᾶι καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἄτριχον τῶν προσώπων,
περιϊπτάμενος ἅμα καὶ τῶι βόμβωι καταυλῶν. ὁ δὲ λέων ἠγριαίνετο καὶ
μετεστρέφετο πάντηι καὶ τὸν ἀέρα περιέχασκεν· ὁ δὲ κώνωψ ταύτηι
πλέον τὴν ὀργὴν ἐτίθετο παιδιὰν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐτίτρωσκε τοῖς χείλεσιν.
5 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκλινεν εἰς τὸ λυποῦν μέρος, ἀνακάμπτων ἔνθα τοῦ τραύματος
ἡ πληγή, ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ παλαιστὴς τὸ σῶμα σκευάζων εἰς τὴν συμπλοκὴν
ἀπέρρει τῶν τοῦ λέοντος ὀδόντων, αὐτὴν μέσην διαπτὰς κλειομένην τὴν
6 γένυν. οἱ δὲ ὀδόντες κενοὶ τῆς θήρας περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκροτάλιζον. ἤδη τοίνυν
ὁ λέων ἐκεκμήκει σκιαμαχῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα τοῖς ὀδοῦσι καὶ εἱστήκει
παρειμένος ὀργῆι. ὁ δὲ κώνωψ περιϊπτάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν κόμην ἐπηύλει
7 μέλος ἐπινίκιον. μακρότερον δὲ ποιούμενος τῆς πτήσεως τὸν κύκλον ὑπὸ
περιττῆς ἀπειροκαλίας ἀράχνης λανθάνει νήμασιν ἐμπλακείς, καὶ τὴν
ἀράχνην οὐκ ἔλαθεν ἐμπεσών. ὡς δὲ οὐκέτι εἶχε φυγεῖν, ἀδημονῶν εἶπεν·
'ὢ τῆς ἀνοίας· προὐκαλούμην γὰρ ἐγὼ λέοντα, ὀλίγος δέ με ἤγρευσεν
ἀράχνης χιτών.'" ταῦτα εἰπών, "ὥρα τοίνυν," ἔφη, "καὶ σὲ τὰς ἀράχνας
φοβεῖσθαι." καὶ ἅμα ἐγέλασεν.

23 Καὶ ὀλίγας διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν γαστρὸς ἡττώμενον,
φάρμακον πριάμενος ὕπνου βαθέος ἐφ' ἑστίασιν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν. ὁ δὲ
ὑπώπτευε μέν τινα μηχανὴν καὶ ὤκνει τὸ πρῶτον. ὡς δὲ ἡ βελτίστη
2 γαστὴρ κατηνάγκασε, πείθεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Σάτυρον, εἶτα
δειπνήσας ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, ἐγχεῖ τοῦ φαρμάκου κατὰ τῆς τελευταίας
κύλικος ὁ Σάτυρος αὐτῶι· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔπιε, καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπών, ὅσον εἰς
τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ φθάσαι, καταπεσὼν ἔκειτο, τὸν ὕπνον καθεύδων
3 τοῦ φαρμάκου. ὁ δὲ Σάτυρος εἰστρέχει πρός με καὶ λέγει· "κεῖταί σοι
καθεύδων ὁ Κώνωψ· σὺ δὲ ὅπως Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀγαθὸς γένηι." ἅμα ἔλεγε
καὶ ἥκομεν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῆς ἐρωμένης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπελείπετο, ἐγὼ δὲ

22.3 τοξεύει D VGE : τοξεύω WM F μου codd. : με Jacobs² 22.7 ὥρα M VGE : ὅρα W F 23.3 Κώνωψ codd: Κύκλωψ Göttling

εἰσήιειν, ὑποδεχομένης με τῆς Κλειοῦς ἀψοφητί, τρέμων τρόμον διπλοῦν, χαρᾶς ἅμα καὶ φόβου. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κινδύνου φόβος ἐθορύβει τὰς 4
τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδας, ἡ δὲ ἐλπὶς τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐπεκάλυπτεν ἡδονῆι τὸν φόβον· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐλπίζον ἐφοβεῖτό μου καὶ ἔχαιρε τὸ λυπούμενον. ἄρτι δέ μου προσελθόντος εἴσω τοῦ θαλάμου τῆς παιδός, γίνεταί τι τοιοῦτον περὶ τὴν τῆς κόρης μητέρα· ἔτυχεν ὄνειρος αὐτὴν ταράξας. ἐδόκει τινὰ ληιστὴν μάχαιραν ἔχοντα γυμνὴν ἄγειν ἁρπασάμενον αὐτῆς 5
τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ καταθέμενον ὑπτίαν, μέσην ἀνατεμεῖν τῆι μαχαίραι τὴν γαστέρα, κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς. ταραχθεῖσα οὖν ὑπὸ δείματος, ὡς εἶχεν ἀναπηδᾶι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς θυγατρὸς θάλαμον τρέχει (ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦν), ἄρτι μου κατακλιθέντος. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὸν ψόφον ἀκούσας 6
ἀνοιγομένων τῶν θυρῶν, εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδησα· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην παρῆν. συνεὶς οὖν τὸ κακὸν ἐξάλλομαι καὶ διὰ τῶν θυρῶν ἴεμαι δρόμωι, καὶ ὁ Σάτυρος ὑποδέχεται τρέμοντα καὶ τεταραγμένον. εἶτα ἐφεύγομεν διὰ τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον ἑαυτῶν ἤλθομεν.

Ἡ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ ἰλίγγου κατέπεσεν, εἶτα ἀνενεγκοῦσα τὴν Κλειὼ **24**
κατὰ κόρρης ὡς εἶχε ῥαπίζει καὶ ἐπιλαβομένη τῶν τριχῶν ἅμα πρὸς τὴν θυγατέρα ἀνώιμωξεν "ἀπώλεσάς μου," λέγουσα "Λευκίππη, τὰς ἐλπίδας. οἴμοι, Σώστρατε· σὺ μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίωι πολεμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων γάμων, 2
ἐν Τύρωι δὲ καταπεπολέμησαι καὶ τῆς θυγατρός σού τις τοὺς γάμους σεσύληκεν. οἴμοι δειλαία, τοιούτους σοι γάμους ὄψεσθαι οὐ προσεδόκων. ὄφελον ἔμεινας ἐν Βυζαντίωι· ὄφελον ἔπαθες πολέμου νόμωι τὴν ὕβριν· 3
ὄφελόν σε κἂν Θρᾳὶξ νικήσας ὕβρισεν· οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ συμφορὰ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὄνειδος. νῦν δέ, κακόδαιμον, ἀδοξεῖς ἐν οἷς δυστυχεῖς. ἐπλάνα δέ 4
με καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐνυπνίων φαντάσματα· τὸν δὲ ἀληθέστερον ὄνειρον οὐκ ἐθεασάμην. νῦν ἀθλιώτερον ἀνετμήθης τὴν γαστέρα· αὕτη δυστυχεστέρα τῆς μαχαίρας τομή· οὐδὲ εἶδον τὸν ὑβρίσαντά σε· οὐδὲ οἶδά μου τῆς συμφορᾶς τὴν τύχην. οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν· μὴ καὶ δοῦλος ἦν;"

Ἐθάρσησεν οὖν ἡ παρθένος, ὡς ἂν ἐμοῦ διαπεφευγότος, καὶ λέγει **25**
"μὴ λοιδόρει μου, μῆτερ, τὴν παρθενίαν· οὐδὲν ἔργον μοι πέπρακται τοιούτων ῥημάτων, οὐδὲ οἶδα τοῦτον ὅστις ἦν, εἴτε δαίμων, εἴτε ἥρως, εἴτε ληιστής. ἐκείμην δὲ πεφοβημένη, μηδ' ἀνακραγεῖν διὰ τὸν φόβον 2
δυναμένη. φόβος γὰρ γλώττης ἐστὶ δεσμός. ἓν οἶδα μόνον, οὐδείς μου τὴν παρθενίαν κατήισχυνε." καταπεσοῦσα οὖν ἡ Πάνθεια πάλιν ἔστενεν. 3
ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐσκοποῦμεν, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενόμενοι, τί ποιητέον εἴη, καὶ ἐδόκει κράτιστον εἶναι φεύγειν, πρὶν ἠὼς γένηται καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἡ Κλειὼ βασανιζομένη κατείπηι.

25.1 post ῥημάτων add. ἄξιον Cobet ἥρως Boden : ἔρως codd.

26 Δόξαν οὖν οὕτως εἰχόμεθα ἔργου, σκηψάμενοι πρὸς τὸν θυρωρὸν ἀπιέναι πρὸς ἐρωμένην, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐρχόμεθα τὴν Κλεινίου. ἦσαν δὲ λοιπὸν μέσαι νύκτες, ὥστε μόλις ὁ θυρωρὸς ἀνέωιξεν ἡμῖν. καὶ ὁ Κλεινίας, ἐν ὑπερώιωι γὰρ τὸν θάλαμον εἶχε, διαλεγομένων ἡμῶν
2 ἀκούσας κατατρέχει τεταραγμένος. καὶ ἐν τούτωι τὴν Κλειὼ κατόπιν ὁρῶμεν σπουδῆι θέουσαν· ἦν γὰρ δρασμὸν βεβουλευμένη. ἅμα τε οὖν ὁ Κλεινίας ἤκουσεν ἡμῶν ἃ πεπόνθαμεν καὶ τῆς Κλειοῦς ἡμεῖς, ὅπως
3 φύγοι, καὶ πάλιν ἡμῶν ἡ Κλειὼ τί ποιεῖν μέλλομεν. παρελθόντες οὖν εἴσω τῶν θυρῶν τῶι Κλεινίαι διηγούμεθα τὰ γεγονότα καὶ ὅτι φεύγειν διεγνώκαμεν. λέγει ἡ Κλειώ· "κἀγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν· ἦν γὰρ περιμείνω τὴν ἕω, θάνατός μοι πρόκειται, τῶν βασάνων γλυκύτερος."

27 Ὁ οὖν Κλεινίας τῆς χειρός μου λαβόμενος ἄγει τῆς Κλειοῦς μακρὰν καὶ λέγει· "δοκῶ μοι καλλίστην γνώμην εὑρηκέναι, ταύτην μὲν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν, κἂν οὕτω δοκῆι, συσκευασαμένους
2 ἀπελθεῖν. οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν οἶδε τῆς κόρης ἡ μήτηρ τίνα κατέλαβεν, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατε, ὅ τε καταμηνύσων οὐκ ἔσται, τῆς Κλειοῦς ἐκ μέσου γενομένης· τάχα δὲ καὶ τὴν κόρην συμφυγεῖν πείσετε." ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι
3 κοινωνὸς γενήσεται τῆς ἀποδημίας. ταῦτα ἔδοξε. καὶ τὴν μὲν Κλειὼ τῶν οἰκετῶν αὑτοῦ τινι παραδίδωσι, κελεύσας ἐμβαλέσθαι σκάφει, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ καταμείναντες ἐφροντίζομεν περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων· καὶ τέλος ἔδοξεν ἀποπειραθῆναι τῆς κόρης καί, εἰ μὲν θελήσει συμφυγεῖν, οὕτω πράττειν, εἰ δὲ μή, μένειν αὐτοῦ, παραδόντας ἑαυτοὺς τῆι τύχηι. κοιμηθέντες οὖν ὀλίγον τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον τὸ λοιπόν, περὶ τὴν ἕω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπανήλθομεν.

28 Ἡ οὖν Πάνθεια ἀναστᾶσα περὶ τὰς βασάνους τῆς Κλειοῦς ηὐτρεπίζετο καὶ καλεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευεν. ὡς δ' ἦν ἀφανής, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴεται καί "οὐκ ἐρεῖς" ἔφη "τὴν συσκευὴν τοῦ δράματος; ἰδοὺ καὶ ἡ Κλειὼ
2 πέφευγεν." ἡ δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθάρσησε καὶ λέγει· "τί πλέον εἴπω σοι, τίνα δὲ ἄλλην προσαγάγω πίστιν τῆς ἀληθείας μείζονα; εἰ παρθενίας ἔστι τις
3 δοκιμασία, δοκίμασον." "ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο" ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια "λείπεται, ἵνα καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων δυστυχῶμεν." ταῦτα ἅμα λέγουσα ἀνεπήδησεν ἔξω.

29 Ἡ δὲ Λευκίππη καθ' ἑαυτὴν γενομένη καὶ τῶν τῆς μητρὸς γεμισθεῖσα ῥημάτων παντοδαπή τις ἦν· ἤχθετο, ἠισχύνετο, ὠργίζετο. ἤχθετο μὲν πεφωραμένη, ἠισχύνετο δὲ ὀνειδιζομένη, ὠργίζετο δὲ ἀπιστουμένη.
2 αἰδὼς δὲ καὶ λύπη καὶ ὀργὴ τρία τῆς ψυχῆς κύματα· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰδὼς διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων εἰσρέουσα τὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλευθερίαν καθαιρεῖ· ἡ λύπη δὲ περὶ τὰ στέρνα διανεμομένη κατατήκει τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ζωπυροῦν·

27.2 οἶδε WM VGE : εἶδε F

ἡ δὲ ὀργὴ περιϋλακτοῦσα τὴν καρδίαν ἐπικλύζει τὸν λογισμὸν τῶι
τῆς μανίας ἀφρῶι. λόγος δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων πατήρ, καὶ ἔοικεν ἐπὶ 3
σκοπῶι τοξοβολεῖν [καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνειν] καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πέμπειν τὰ
βλήματα καὶ ποικίλα τοξεύματα. τὸ μέν ἐστιν αὐτῶι λοιδορίας βέλος,
καὶ γίνεται τὸ ἕλκος ὀργή· τὸ δέ ἐστιν ἔλεγχος ἀτυχημάτων· ἐκ τούτου
τοῦ βέλους λύπη γίνεται· τὸ δέ, ὄνειδος ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ καλοῦσιν
αἰδῶ τὸ τραῦμα. ἴδιον δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων τῶν βελῶν βαθέα μὲν τὰ 4
βλήματα, ἄναιμα δὲ τὰ τοξεύματα. ἓν δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων φάρμακον,
ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βαλόντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς βλήμασι· λόγος γὰρ γλώσσης βέλος
ἄλλης γλώσσης βέλει θεραπεύεται· καὶ γὰρ τῆς καρδίας ἔπαυσε τὸ
θυμούμενον καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμάρανε τὸ λυπούμενον. ἂν δέ τις ἀνάγκηι 5
τοῦ κρείττονος σιγήσηι τὴν ἄμυναν, ἀλγεινότερα γίνεται τὰ ἕλκη τῆι
σιωπῆι· αἱ γὰρ ὠδῖνες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου κυμάτων, οὐκ ἀποπτύσασαι
τὸν ἀφρόν, οἰδοῦσι περὶ ἑαυτὰς πεφυσημέναι. τοσούτων οὖν ἡ Λευκίππη
γεμισθεῖσα συμφορῶν οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν προσβολήν.

Ἐν τούτωι δὲ ἔτυχον πέμψαι τὸν Σάτυρον πρὸς τὴν κόρην **30**
ἀποπειρασόμενον τῆς φυγῆς. ἡ δὲ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι πρὸς τὸν Σάτυρον
"δέομαι" ἔφη "πρὸς θεῶν ξένων καὶ ἐγχωρίων, ἐξαρπάσατέ με τῶν τῆς
μητρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν, ὅποι βούλεσθε. εἰ δέ με ἀπελθόντες καταλίποιτε, βρόχον 2
πλεξαμένη τὴν ψυχήν μου οὕτως ἀφήσω." ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσα, τὸ
πολὺ τῆς φροντίδος ἀπερριψάμην. δύο δὲ ἡμέρας διαλιπόντες, ὅτε καὶ
ἀποδημῶν ἔτυχεν ὁ πατήρ, παρεσκευαζόμεθα πρὸς τὴν φυγήν.

Εἶχε δὲ ὁ Σάτυρος τοῦ φαρμάκου λείψανον, ὧι τὸν Κώνωπα ἦν **31**
κατακοιμίσας· τούτου διακονούμενος ἡμῖν ἐγχεῖ λαθὼν κατὰ τῆς κύλικος
τῆς τελευταίας, ἣν τῆι Πανθείαι προσέφερεν· ἡ δὲ ἀναστᾶσα ὤιχετο
εἰς τὸν θάλαμον αὐτῆς καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάθευδεν. εἶχε δὲ ἑτέραν ἡ Λευκίππη 2
θαλαμηπόλον· ἣν τῶι αὐτῶι φαρμάκωι καταβαπτίσας ὁ Σάτυρος
(προσεπεποίητο γὰρ καὶ αὐτῆς, ἐξ οὗ τῶι θαλάμωι προσεληλύθει, ἐρᾶν)
ἐπὶ τὴν τρίτην θήραν ἔρχεται, ἐπὶ τὸν θυρωρόν. κἀκεῖνον βεβλήκει τῶι
αὐτῶι πόματι. ὄχημα δὲ εὐτρεπὲς ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐξεδέχετο, ὅπερ ὁ 3
Κλεινίας παρεσκεύασε, καὶ ἔφθασεν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ περιμένων αὐτός. ἐπεὶ
δὲ πάντες ἐκάθευδον, περὶ πρώτας νυκτὸς φυλακὰς προήιειμεν ἀψοφητί,
Λευκίππην τοῦ Σατύρου χειραγωγοῦντος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κώνωψ, ὅσπερ 4
ἡμῖν ἐφήδρευε, κατὰ τύχην ἐκείνην ἀπεδήμει τὴν ἡμέραν, τῆι δεσποίνηι

29.3 τοξοβολεῖν Salmasius : τόξον βαλεῖν D : τόξον βάλλειν cett. καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνειν seclusi 29.5 συμφορῶν W VGE : ῥημάτων M 30.1 πέμψαι codd : πέμψας Salmasius 31.2 θήραν Boden : θύραν codd.

διακονησόμενος. ἀνοίγει δὴ τὰς θύρας ὁ Σάτυρος, καὶ προήλθομεν· ὡς
5 δὲ παρῆμεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπέβημεν τοῦ ὀχήματος. ἦμεν δὲ οἱ πάντες
ἕξ, ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁ Κλεινίας καὶ δύο θεράποντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπελαύνομεν οὖν
τὴν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνα καὶ περὶ μοίρας τῆς νυκτὸς δύο παρῆμεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν
καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Βηρυτὸν τὸν δρόμον ἐποιούμεθα, νομίζοντες εὑρήσειν
6 ἐκεῖ ναῦν ἐφορμοῦσαν. καὶ οὐκ ἠτυχήσαμεν· ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ Βηρυτίων
λιμένος ἤλθομεν, ἀναγόμενον σκάφος εὕρομεν, ἄρτι τὰ πρυμνήσια μέλλον
ἀπολύειν. μηδὲν οὖν ἐρωτήσαντες ποῦ πλεῖ, μετεσκευαζόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν
θάλατταν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἦν ὁ καιρὸς μικρὸν ἄνω τῆς ἕω. ἔπλει δὲ τὸ
πλοῖον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ Νείλου πόλιν.

32 Ἔχαιρον δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ὁρῶν τὴν θάλασσαν, οὔπω πελαγίζοντος τοῦ
σκάφους ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐποχουμένου. ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν οὔριον εἶναι
πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν τὸ πνεῦμα, θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς κατὰ τὸ σκάφος, τῶν
ναυτῶν διαθεόντων, τοῦ κυβερνήτου κελεύοντος, ἑλκομένων τῶν κάλων·
2 ἡ κεραία περιήγετο, τὸ ἱστίον καθίετο, ἡ ναῦς ἀπεσαλεύετο, τὰς ἀγκύρας
ἀνέσπων, ὁ λιμὴν κατελείπετο· τὴν γῆν ἑωρῶμεν ἀπὸ τῆς νηὸς κατὰ
μικρὸν ἀναχωροῦσαν, ὡς αὐτὴν πλέουσαν· παιανισμὸς ἦν καὶ πολλή τις
εὐχή, θεοὺς σωτῆρας καλοῦντες, εὐφημοῦντες αἴσιον τὸν πλοῦν γενέσθαι·
τὸ πνεῦμα ἤιρετο σφοδρότερον, τὸ ἱστίον ἐκυρτοῦτο καὶ εἶλκε τὴν ναῦν.

33 Ἔτυχε δέ τις ἡμῖν νεανίσκος παρασκηνῶν, ὅς, ἐπεὶ καιρὸς ἦν ἀρίστου,
φιλοφρονούμενος ἡμᾶς συναριστᾶν ἠξίου. καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ Σάτυρος παρέφερεν·
ὥστε εἰς μέσον καταθέμενοι ἃ εἴχομεν τὸ ἄριστον ἐκοινωνοῦμεν, ἤδη δὲ
2 καὶ λόγον. λέγω δὴ πρῶτος· "πόθεν, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ τίνα σε δεῖ καλεῖν;"
3 "ἐγὼ Μενέλαος," εἶπεν "τὸ δὲ γένος Αἰγύπτιος. τὰ δὲ ὑμέτερα τίνα;"
"ἐγὼ Κλειτοφῶν, οὗτος Κλεινίας, Φοίνικες ἄμφω." "τίς οὖν ἡ πρόφασις
ὑμῖν τῆς ἀποδημίας;" "ἢν σὺ πρῶτος ἡμῖν φράσηις, καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν
ἀκούσηι."

34 Λέγει οὖν ὁ Μενέλαος· "τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποδημίας ἔρως
βάσκανος καὶ θήρα δυστυχής. ἤρων μειρακίου καλοῦ· τὸ δὲ μειράκιον
φιλόθηρον ἦν. ἐπεῖχον τὰ πολλά, κρατεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνάμην. ὡς δὲ οὐκ
2 ἔπειθον, εἰπόμην ἐπὶ τὰς ἄγρας κἀγώ. ἐθηρῶμεν οὖν ἱππεύοντες ἄμφω
3 καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ηὐτυχοῦμεν, τὰ λεπτὰ διώκοντες τῶν θηρίων. ἐξαίφνης δὲ
σῦς τῆς ὕλης προπηδᾶι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἐδίωκε· καὶ ὁ σῦς ἐπιστρέφει
τὴν γένυν καὶ ἀντιπρόσωπος ἐχώρει δρόμωι, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον οὐκ
ἐξετρέπετο, βοῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ κεκραγότος· "ἔλκε τὸν ἵππον, μετένεγκε

31.4 πύλας WM F : θύρας VGE 34.3 ἐδίωκε . . . καὶ τὸ μειράκιον om. VGE ἀνάιξας Vilborg : ἀλλάξας WM VE : ἀλλάλαξας G F : ἀλλ' ἄιξας Jacobs[2] 34.4 ἐναγκυλωσάμενος WM VE : ἐναγκαλισάμενος G F

τὰς ἡνίας· πονηρὸν τὸ θηρίον." ἀνάιξας δὲ ὁ σῦς σπουδῇ ἔτρεχεν ὡς
ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ οἱ μὲν συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις, ἐμὲ δὲ τρόμος, ὡς εἶδον, 4
λαμβάνει· καὶ φοβούμενος μὴ φθάσῃ τὸ θηρίον καὶ πατάξῃ τὸν ἵππον,
ἐναγκυλωσάμενος τὸ ἀκόντιον, πρὶν ἀκριβῶς καταστοχάσασθαι τοῦ
σκοποῦ, πέμπω τὸ βέλος· τὸ δὲ μειράκιον παραθέον ἁρπάζει τὴν βολήν.
τίνα οἴει με τότε ψυχὴν ἔχειν; εἰ καὶ ψυχὴν εἶχον ὅλως, ὡς ἂν ἄλλος τις 5
ἀποθάνοι ζῶν. τὸ δὲ οἰκτρότερον, τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγέ μοι μικρὸν ἔτι ἐμπνέων
καὶ περιέβαλλε καὶ ἀποθνήισκων οὐκ ἐμίσει με τὸν πονηρὸν ὁ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
πεφονευμένος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆκε τῇι φονευσάσηι μου περιπλεκόμενος
δεξιᾶι. ἄγουσιν οὖν με ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον οἱ τοῦ μειρακίου γονεῖς οὐκ 6
ἄκοντα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπελθὼν ἀπελογούμην οὐδέν, θανάτου δὲ ἐτιμώμην
ἐμαυτῶι. ἐλεήσαντες οὖν οἱ δικασταὶ προσετιμήσαντό μοι τριετῆ φυγήν·
ἧς νῦν τέλος ἐχούσης αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ καταίρω." ἐπεδάκρυσεν ὁ 7
Κλεινίας αὐτοῦ λέγοντος Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, ἀναμνησθεὶς Χαρικλέους.
καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος "τἀμὰ δακρύεις" ἔφη "ἢ καὶ σέ τι τοιοῦτον ἐξήγαγε;"
στενάξας οὖν ὁ Κλεινίας καταλέγει τὸν Χαρικλέα καὶ τὸν ἵππον, κἀγὼ
τἀμαυτοῦ.

Ὁρῶν οὖν ἐγὼ τὸν Μενέλαον κατηφῆ πάνυ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μεμνημένον, **35**
τὸν δὲ Κλεινίαν ὑποδακρύοντα μνήμηι Χαρικλέους, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς
τῆς λύπης ἀπαγαγεῖν, ἐμβάλλω λόγον ἐρωτικῆς ἐχόμενον ψυχαγωγίας·
καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ Λευκίππη παρῆν, ἀλλ' ἐν μυχῶι ἐκάθευδε τῆς νηός.
λέγω δὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπομειδιῶν· "ὡς παρὰ πολὺ κρατεῖ μου Κλεινίας· 2
ἐβούλετο γὰρ λέγειν κατὰ γυναικῶν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει. ῥᾴιον δ' ἂν εἴποι νῦν
ἤτοι, ὡς κοινωνὸν ἔρωτος εὑρών. οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ πῶς ἐπιχωριάζει νῦν ὁ 3
εἰς τοὺς ἄρρενας ἔρως." "οὐ γὰρ πολὺ ἄμεινον" ὁ Μενέλαος ἔφη "τοῦτο
ἐκείνου; καὶ γὰρ ἁπλούστεροι παῖδες γυναικῶν, καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῖς
δριμύτερον εἰς ἡδονήν." "ποῖον δριμύτερον," ἔφην, "ὅ τι παρακῦψαν 4
μόνον οἴχεται καὶ οὐκ ἀπολαῦσαι δίδωσι τῶι φιλοῦντι, ἀλλ' ἔοικε τῶι
τοῦ Ταντάλου πόματι; πολλάκις γὰρ ἐν ὧι πίνεται πέφευγε, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν 5
ὁ ἐραστὴς οὐχ εὑρὼν πιεῖν· τὸ δὲ ἔτι πινόμενον ἁρπάζεται πρὶν ὁ πίνων
κορεσθῆι. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ παιδὸς ἀπελθεῖν ἐραστὴν ἄλυπον ἔχοντα
τὴν ἡδονήν· καταλείπει γὰρ ἔτι διψῶντα."

Καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος "ἀγνοεῖς, ὦ Κλειτοφῶν," ἔφη "τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς ἡδονῆς. **36**
ποθεινὸν γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ ἀκόρεστον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰς χρῆσιν χρονιώτερον

34.6 ἐπελθὼν Salmasius : ἀπελθὼν codd. 34.7 Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν W VGE F : ταῦτα M 35.4 ποῖον scripsi : ποῖ WM VE : πῶς F, Vilborg : ποῖαι (*sic*) Garnaud

τῶι κόρωι μαραίνει τὸ τερπνόν· τὸ δὲ ἁρπαζόμενον καινόν ἐστιν ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνθεῖ· οὐ γὰρ γεγηρακυῖαν ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν· καὶ τὸ κάλλος ὅσον ἐλαττοῦται τῶι χρόνωι, τοσοῦτον εἰς μέγεθος ἐκτείνεται πόθωι.
2 καὶ τὸ ῥόδον διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων εὐμορφότερόν ἐστι φυτῶν, ὅτι τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ φεύγει ταχύ. δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω κατ' ἀνθρώπους κάλλη πλανᾶσθαι, τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὥσπερ τοῦ κάλλους αἱ
3 χορηγοὶ θεαί. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον ἄχθεται θνητῶι κάλλει δεδεμένον καὶ ζητεῖ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ταχὺ φεύγειν, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἔρριπται κάτω καὶ ἐγχρονίζει περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ποιητὴν δεῖ λαβεῖν μάρτυρα τῆς οὐρανίας τοῦ κάλλους ἀνόδου, ἄκουσον Ὁμήρου λέγοντος

> Τὸν καὶ ἀνηρείψαντο θεοὶ Διΐ οἰνοχοεύειν
> κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη.

4 οὐδεμία δὲ ἀνέβη ποτὲ εἰς οὐρανοὺς διὰ κάλλος γυνή — καὶ γὰρ γυναιξὶ κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ Ζεύς — ἀλλ' Ἀλκμήνην μὲν ἔχει πένθος καὶ φυγή, Δανάην δὲ λάρναξ καὶ θάλασσα, Σεμέλη δὲ πυρὸς γέγονε τροφή. ἂν δὲ μειρακίου Φρυγὸς ἐρασθῆι, τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτῶι δίδωσιν, ἵνα καὶ συνοικῆι καὶ οἰνοχόον ἔχηι τοῦ νέκταρος· ἡ δὲ πρότερον διάκονος τῆς τιμῆς ἐξέωσται· ἦν γάρ, οἶμαι, γυνή."

37 Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ἐγώ "καὶ μὴν οὐράνιον" ἔφην "ἔοικεν εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν [γένος] κάλλος, ὅσον μὴ ταχὺ φθείρεται· ἐγγὺς γὰρ τοῦ θείου τὸ ἄφθαρτον. τὸ δὲ κινούμενον ἐν φθορᾶι ⟨καὶ⟩ θνητὴν φύσιν μιμούμενον
2 οὐκ οὐράνιόν ἐστιν ἀλλὰ πάνδημον. ἠράσθη μειρακίου Φρυγός, ἀνήγαγεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς τὸν Φρύγα· τὸ δὲ κάλλος τῶν γυναικῶν αὐτὸν τὸν Δία κατήγαγεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. διὰ γυναῖκά ποτε Ζεὺς ἐμυκήσατο, διὰ γυναῖκά ποτε σάτυρον ὠρχήσατο, καὶ χρυσὸν πεποίηκεν ἑαυτὸν ἄλλῃ γυναικί.
3 οἰνοχοείτω μὲν Γανυμήδης, μετὰ δὲ τῶν θεῶν Ἥρα πινέτω, ἵνα ἔχηι μειράκιον διάκονον γυνή. ἐλεῶ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἁρπαγήν· ὄρνις ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατέβη ὠμηστής, ὁ δὲ ἀνάρπαστος γενόμενος ὑβρίζεται καὶ ἔοικεν τυραννουμένωι. καὶ τὸ θέαμά ἐστιν αἴσχιστον, μειράκιον ἐξ ὀνύχων
4 κρεμάμενον. Σεμέλην δὲ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνήγαγεν οὐκ ὄρνις ὠμηστής, ἀλλὰ πῦρ. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσηις, εἰ διὰ πυρός τις ἀναβαίνει εἰς οὐρανόν· οὕτως ἀνέβη Ἡρακλῆς. εἰ δὲ Δανάης τὴν λάρνακα γελᾶις, πῶς τὸν Περσέα σιωπᾶις; Ἀλκμήνηι δὲ τοῦτο μόνον δῶρον ἀρκεῖ, ὅτι δι' αὐτὴν ἔκλεψεν

36.1 τὸ κάλλος Lumb : τοῖς ἄλλοις codd. 36.2 αἱ χορηγοὶ θεαί om. VG F 36.3 ἀνόδου VGE : ὁδοῦ WM F 37.1 γένος del. Jacobs² κάλλος WM : om. VGE F καὶ addidi 37.3 Ἥρα codd. : Ἥβη Göttling

ὁ Ζεὺς τρεῖς ὅλους ἡλίους. εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεθέντα τὰς μυθολογίας αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν 5
τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἡδονήν· ἐγὼ μὲν πρωτόπειρος ὢν εἰς γυναῖκας, ὅσον
ὁμιλῆσαι ταῖς εἰς Ἀφροδίτην πωλουμέναις — ἄλλος γὰρ ἂν ἴσως εἰπεῖν τι
καὶ πλέον ἔχοι μεμυημένος — εἰρήσεται δέ μοι, κἂν μετρίως ἔχω πείρας.
γυναικὶ μὲν οὖν ὑγρὸν μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς, μαλθακὰ δὲ 6
τὰ χείλη πρὸς τὰ φιλήματα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἔχει τὸ σῶμα ἐν τοῖς
ἀγκαλίσμασιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς σαρξὶν ὅλως ἐνηρμοσμένον, ὁ δὲ συγγινόμενος
περιβάλλει τὴν ἡδονήν. ἐγγίζει δὲ τοῖς χείλεσιν ὥσπερ σφραγῖδας τὰ 7
φιλήματα, φιλεῖ δὲ τέχνηι καὶ σκευάζει τὸ φίλημα γλυκύτερον. οὐ γὰρ
μόνον ἐθέλει φιλεῖν τοῖς χείλεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι συμβάλλεται καὶ
περὶ τὸ τοῦ φιλοῦντος στόμα βόσκεται καὶ δάκνει τὰ φιλήματα. ἔχει
δέ τινα καὶ μαστὸς ἐπαφώμενος ἰδίαν ἡδονήν. ἐν δὲ τῆι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης 8
ἀκμῆι οἰστρεῖ μὲν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, περικέχηνε δὲ φιλοῦσα καὶ μαίνεται. αἱ
δὲ γλῶτται τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φοιτῶσιν ἀλλήλαις εἰς ὁμιλίαν καὶ ὡς
δύνανται βιάζονται κἀκεῖναι φιλεῖν· σὺ δὲ μείζονα ποίει τὴν ἡδονὴν
ἀνοίγων τὰ φιλήματα. πρὸς δὲ τὸ τέρμα αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἡ γυνὴ 9
γενομένη πέφυκεν ἀσθμαίνειν ὑπὸ καυματώδους ἡδονῆς, τὸ δὲ ἄσθμα
σὺν πνεύματι ἐρωτικῶι μέχρι τῶν τοῦ στόματος χειλέων ἀναθορὸν
συντυγχάνει πλανωμένωι τῶι φιλήματι καὶ ζητοῦντι καταβῆναι κάτω·
ἀναστρέφον δὲ σὺν τῶι ἄσθματι τὸ φίλημα καὶ μιχθὲν ἔπεται καὶ βάλλει 10
τὴν καρδίαν· ἡ δὲ ταραχθεῖσα τῶι φιλήματι πάλλεται. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῖς
σπλάγχνοις ἦν δεδεμένη, ἠκολούθησεν ἂν καὶ ἀνείλκυσεν αὐτὴν ἄνω τοῖς
φιλήμασι. παίδων δὲ φιλήματα μὲν ἀπαίδευτα, περιπλοκαὶ δὲ ἀμαθεῖς,
Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἀργή, ἡδονῆς δὲ οὐδέν."

Καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος "ἀλλὰ σύ μοι δοκεῖς" ἔφη "μὴ πρωτόπειρος ἀλλὰ **38**
γέρων εἰς Ἀφροδίτην τυγχάνειν, τοσαύτας ἡμῖν καταχέας γυναικῶν
περιεργίας. ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν παίδων ἀντάκουσον. γυναικὶ μὲν γὰρ 2
πάντα ἐπίπλαστα, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ σχήματα· κἂν εἶναι δόξηι καλή,
τῶν ἀλειμμάτων ἡ πολυπράγμων μηχανή. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος ἢ
μύρων, ἢ τριχῶν βαφῆς, ἢ καὶ φιλημάτων· ἂν δὲ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων
γυμνώσηις δόλων, ἔοικε κολοιῶι γεγυμνωμένωι τῶν τοῦ μύθου πτερῶν.
τὸ δὲ κάλλος τὸ παιδικὸν οὐκ ἀρδεύεται μύρων ὄσφραις οὐδὲ δολεραῖς 3

37.5 ὢν εἰς γυναῖκας, ὅσον VGE : ὢν ὅσον εἰς γυναῖκας F : εὐνῆς γυναῖκας ὅσον W : εὐγενοῦς γυναῖκας ὅσον M 37.6 γυναικὶ Hercher : γυναιξὶ codd. περιβάλλει τὴν ἡδονήν VGE F : προσβάλλει τὴν ἡδονὴν WM : περιβάλλεται ἡδονῆι Vilborg 37.8 ποίει scripsi : ποιεῖς codd. 37.10 ἀναστρέφον δὲ F : ἀναστρέφον τε Jacobs^{2} : ἀναστρέφονται M : ἀναστρέφει τε V : ἀναστρέφοντες W :] τρεφο. [Π^{8} 38.2 γυναικὶ VGE F : γυναιξὶ WM.

καὶ ἀλλοτρίαις ὀσμαῖς, πάσης δὲ γυναικῶν μυραλοιφίας ἥδιον ὄδωδεν ὁ
4 τῶν παίδων ἱδρώς. ἔξεστι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀφροδίτηι συμπλοκῆς
καὶ ἐν παλαίστραι συμπεσεῖν καὶ φανερῶς περιχυθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν
αἰσχύνην αἱ περιπλοκαί· καὶ οὐ μαλθάσσει τὰς ἐν Ἀφροδίτηι περιπλοκὰς
ὑγρότητι σαρκῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντιτυπεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ σώματα καὶ περὶ
5 τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀθλεῖ. τὰ δὲ φιλήματα σοφίαν μὲν οὐκ ἔχει γυναικείαν, οὐδὲ
μαγγανεύει τοῖς χείλεσί τινα μωρὰν ἀπάτην, ὡς δὲ οἶδε φιλεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι
τέχνης ἀλλὰ τῆς φύσεως τὰ φιλήματα. αὕτη δὲ παιδὸς φιλήματος εἰκών·
εἰ νέκταρ ἐπήγνυτο καὶ χεῖλος ἐγίνετο, τοιαῦτα ἂν ἔσχες τὰ φιλήματα.
φιλῶν δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις κόρον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσον ἐμφορῆι, διψῆις ἔτι φιλεῖν, καὶ οὐκ
ἂν ἀποσπάσειας τὸ στόμα, μέχρις ἂν ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς ἐκφύγηις τὰ φιλήματα."

38.4 συμπλοκὰς Π^8 : περιπλοκὰς codd. 38.5 τινα μωρὰν scripsi : εἶναι μωρὰν codd. : σινάμωρον Jacobs^2

COMMENTARY

BOOK ONE

1.1–2: The opening frame: Sidon

L&C opens with a framing narrative supplied by an unnamed, male survivor of a storm (Cl.'s narrative will be embedded within this). This narrator begins with an ecphrasis of the harbour of Sidon, before describing an erotic painting of Europa on the bull, and finally entering into dialogue with the young man who turns out to be Cl. There will be no return to the frame at the conclusion of *L&C* (on the implications of this see Intro. 4(c)). The events in the frame narrative apparently take place soon after the end of the romance: the narrator judges that it is 'not long since your (Cl.'s) initiation' into the cult of Eros. It is plausible that the frame-narrator's shipwreck in a 'squall' (χειμῶνος, 1.1.2) took place at the end of the 'winter' (cf. παραχειμάσαντες, 8.19.3) that concluded the narrative (Repath 2005: 261–2).

A.'s description of the double harbour is topographically accurate: ps.-Scylax 104 similarly alludes to the secondary, 'enclosed harbour' (λιμὴν κλειστός; cf. A.'s κλείων; see further Vilborg 1962: 18–19 and Yatromanolakis 1990: 569–70). Strabo praises it as 'naturally fine' (εὐφυεῖ, 16.2.22). There are, however, also elements of literary *topos*: cf. Odysseus' description of the λιμὴν εὔορμος of 'goat island' (Hom. *Od.* 9.136). A. shows the influence of rhetorical encomium in praising the harbour's all-year-round benefits (Men. Rhet. 1.351–2).

The language is sophisticated and prose-poetical, in accordance with A.'s characteristic descriptive style (Intro. 4(b)). There is no main verb until the sixth sentence (ὀρώρυκται); up to that point there is complete ellipsis of the verb 'to be', and even few participles. Stylistic effects are numerous: homoioteleuton (-ων), the alternating positions of subject and complement, the metaphorical uses of the polar μήτηρ and πατήρ. Thereafter the sentences become longer, but the emphasis upon artfully skewed doublets is retained. Several words recur in successive sentences or phrases (θάλατ(/σσ)α, πόλις, κόλπος, λιμήν). χειμάζειν μὲν . . . θερίζειν δέ offers a conventionally balanced contrast. The theme of gemination is expressed literally in the 'twin harbour' (δίδυμος λιμήν) with its 'second mouth' (στόμα δεύτερον). This play with doublets recurs in the ecphrasis of Europa (1.1.2–13n.), creating a parallelism between the two marine scenes. Also striking, in view of the erotic content of the romance, is the application to the landscape of parental, reproductive and bodily

metaphors: this begins with the opening μήτηρ/πατήρ and is continued more subtly in δίδυμος, κόλπος (and προκόλπιον), πλευρά, στόμα and γίνεται.

1.1.1 Σιδών: the ancient coastal city, and the only Phoenician setting with Homeric authority. **Ἀσσυρίων ἡ θάλασσα** 'the sea belongs to the Assyrians' (cf. 1.1.2: Φοινίκων ἡ θάλασσα). 'Assyrian' is a conventional variation for 'Syrian', striking a slightly pretentious note (Nöldeke 1871: 463–6). The shift from Attic θάλαττα to Ionic/*koinē* -σσ- may be authentic (perhaps for alliteration with Ἀσσυρίων): on A.'s dialectal inconsistency see Intro. 4(d). **μήτηρ Φοινίκων ἡ πόλις· Θηβαίων ὁ δῆμος πατήρ** 'the city is the mother of the Phoenicians; its people are the father of the Thebans'. μήτηρ . . . πόλις suggests a 'metropolis', i.e. the mother-city to foreign colonies. Indeed, '"Phoenician" was considered more a colonial than an ethnic identity . . . the Tyrians and Sidonians imposed Phoenician identity on others more than they claimed it for themselves' (Quinn 2017: 143). Sidon found itself continually locked in a battle for prestige with its neighbouring rival, Tyre, often (in Hellenistic times and later) through the medium of creatively interpreted Greek myth. A.'s narrator implies two claims: (i) that Sidon was responsible for the colonisation of Greek Thebes (Aliquot 2009: 168–71, and see 1.1.2–13n., on Europa; cf. Plin. *NH* 5.17 (76) for Sidon as *Thebarumque Boeotiarum parens*); (ii) that the Sidonians were the 'original' Phoenicians (a claim that was disputed by Tyre, which laid a rival claim to being the μητρόπολις Φοινίκων: Strab. 16.2.22; cf. Meleager's description of Tyre as μεγαυχῆ / ματέρα Φοινίκων, *Anth. Pal.* 7.428.13–14). Both assertions, (i) and (ii), implicitly rely on an identification of Cadmus and Europa, the children of Agenor, as Sidonian. The Sidonian origin of Agenor is at least as old as Euripides (fr. 819 *TGrF*; *Bacch.* 170–3); the Tyrian claim, however, was just as old (Hdt. 4.45.4), and indeed will later be pressed by the Tyrian Cl. (2.2.1). There is no evidence that the myths themselves are authentically Phoenician in origin (despite Cadmus' apparently Semitic name: QDM = 'east'): see Vian 1963, esp. 133. Edwards 1979 explores the Greek origin of the stories. The sentences each contain three morphologically identical, isosyllabic elements: A (μήτηρ) B (Φοινίκων) C (ἡ πόλις) : B (Θηβαίων) C (ὁ δῆμος) A (πατήρ). The variation in order means that the antonyms μήτηρ . . . πατήρ ring the entire phrase. **δίδυμος λιμὴν . . . στόμα δεύτερον ὀρώρυκται . . . καὶ γίνεται τοῦ λιμένος ἄλλος λιμήν:** in his advice on praising harbours Menander Rhetor distinguishes between the 'natural' (αὐτοφυεῖς) and the 'artificial' (χειροποίητοι, 1.351); Sidon has both. Admiration for humans' improvements of natural features is typical of sophistic discourse of the era (cf. Philostr. *Dialexis* 2; Swain 2009). **πλατύς:** probably 'broad' rather than 'salt-water' (LSJ III), which would be superfluous in a description of a marine harbour (despite the echo

in λιμὴν . . . πλατύς of the λίμνη πλατεῖα, i.e. Dead Sea). **ἠρέμα κλείων τὸ πέλαγος** 'enclosing the sea so that the waters within are calm'. ἠρέμα ('calmly') is an originally poetic advb. favoured by the novelists (Bowie 2017: 125); its use here is an example of both grammatical prolepsis (enclosing the sea *so that it became calm*) and the trope known as enallage or hypallage (the calmness of the sea is transferred to the action of the harbour-walls). The advb. is repeated twice more in the opening frame (1.1.4, 1.1.11), presenting the overall image as serene and tranquil, in contrast to the violence of the rape (expressed in the bull's aggressive paddling). κλείων indicates that Sidon's harbour is a λιμὴν κλειστός (ps.-Scylax, *Peripl.* 104.2), a harbour enclosed by artificial walls (known as κλεῖθρα: Diod. Sic. 18.64.4, 18.68.1 etc.; cf. *L&C* 2.14.9, of a river lock). On the imagery of enclosure and opening that runs throughout *L&C* see Intro. 5(a). **ὡς** = ὥστε (result clause). **ταύτηι** 'there', i.e. in the inner harbour. **θερίζειν δὲ τοῦ λιμένος εἰς τὸ προκόλπιον** 'and they (the cargo-ships) can relocate to the outer harbour (τοῦ λιμένος . . . τὸ προκόλπιον, inverted gen.: Intro. 4(d)) in the summer'. The phrasing is slightly elliptical, the motion implied only by εἰς.

1.1.2 χειμῶνος: the echo of χειμάζειν may hint that the narrator's ship was wrecked during one of the winter storms against which the double harbour protects. **σῶστρα ἔθυον ἐμαυτοῦ** 'I made thank-offerings for my salvation'. ἐμαυτοῦ is an objective gen. after σῶστρα (i.e. 'offerings for the saving of myself'). Survivors of storms often made offerings to gods who presided over the region (Rouse 1902: 228–31). **τῆι τῶν Φοινίκων:** *sc.* θεᾶι. Diggle 1972 proposes supplying Ἀφροδίτηι in the first clause (several positions are possible) on the grounds that καλοῦσιν . . . οἱ Σιδώνιοι suggests that others call her something else (cf. 5.2.1: Zeus 'whom the Egyptians call (καλοῦσιν) Serapis'; also Luc. *De Dea Syria* 1, τῆς Ἥρης τῆς Ἀσσυρίης). On the identification of Astarte with Aphrodite see Bonnet and Pirenne-Delforge 1999: 271–2. Σελήνηι is another possibility (cf. 1.4.3n.): for Astarte as the moon-goddess see Luc. *De Dea Syria* 4; Lightfoot 2003: 300–1. **Ἀστάρτην:** the deities Astarte and Baal-Eshmoun were the divine couple presiding over Sidon (Bonnet 2015: 202–3). Astarte is an appropriate honorand, since as well as being local to Sidon she retained into Hellenistic and Roman times her association with the sea (Parker 2002: 147–50). A bilingual Greek–Phoenician inscription from Cos (325–300 BCE) thanks Aphrodite–Astarte for her protection of sailors (*SEG* 36–758 (cf. *SEG* 49–1119); for Aphrodite alone see e.g. *Anth. Pal.* 5.11, 5.17, 9.143–4). **περιϊὼν . . . καὶ περισκοπῶν:** the narrator indulges in some refined tourism, a *periēgēsis* of the temple vicinity: cf. 3.6.2–3.7, where a painting of Perseus and Andromeda is viewed during a tour (περιήιειμεν) of the sacred precinct of Zeus Casius (also 5.1.5). **τὸν αὐλῆς περίβολον:** a

walled precinct. Emendation of MSS τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν is required since the painting and other dedications must surely be located (as in ps.-Cebes) within the sanctuary, not elsewhere in the city. For the phrase cf. Ael. Ar. 26.29, Hsch. χ 653. The fem. form περιβολή is used by A. at 1.1.5 and 1.15.2; the masc. περίβολος, however, is preferable (cf. 2.14.5, where it is used in a sacred context analogous to the present one). **ὁρῶ γραφὴν ἀνακειμένην** 'I saw a votive painting'. The part. is attributive (in effect adjectival), i.e. the construction is not an indirect statement after a verb of perception (Intro. 4(d)). The phrasing is apparently borrowed from the allegorical text known as the *Tablet* of ps.-Cebes: πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐθεωροῦμεν· ἀνέκειτο δὲ καὶ πίναξ τις ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νεώ (1.1). **γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάσσης:** gens. of content (Smyth §1323), i.e. indicating the painting's subject-matter.

1.1.2–13: The Ecphrasis of Europa

An extravagant, set-piece ecphrasis of Europa, which stands like a blazon at the head of the text (Intro. 4(b)). The picture is thematically doubled, between land and sea (γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάσσης, 1.1.2; ἐν τῇι γῆι . . . ἐν τῇι θαλάττηι, 1.1.3; πρὸς τὴν γῆν . . . πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, 1.1.8). This combination of marine and terrestrial elements is characteristic of sophistic paradox (Intro. 4(b)). Land and sea are then in turn subdivided again into inanimate and animate beings: on the terrestrial side we encounter first the meadow (1.1.3–5) and then irrigator and maidens (1.1.6–8); then on the marine side, the sea is described first (1.1.8–9), then the figures of the bull, Europa, Eros and the erotes (1.1.9–13). It emerges that the landscape is on the viewer's left, while Europa and the bull are heading out to sea towards the right (1.1.10n.), while Eros is on the far right guiding the way towards Crete (1.1.13n.). The terrestrial landscape is cultivated – it is surrounded by a wall (1.1.5), the flowers are ordered (στοιχηδόν, 1.1.5), and the water source is managed by a worker (1.1.6) – while the sea suggests wild, elemental disorder (1.1.8–9n.).

If the picture 'genuinely' does depict Europa (i.e. the narrator has not mistaken Astarte for her: Intro. 6(c)), then it is to an extent proleptic for the narrative that follows (Bartsch 1989: 48–51; Reeves 2007; Möllendorff 2009). When Cl. says presently that his story μύθοις ἔοικε (1.2.2), readers might well anticipate a resemblance between the unfurling romance and the Europa myth (it is notable too that Cl. will presently compare L.'s appearance to that of a picture of Selene or Europa on a bull: 1.4.3, with n.). Impelled by ἔρως, Cl. will indeed take the beautiful virgin L. away from a Phoenician city without her parents' approval – a ἁρπαγή ('abduction') in ancient law, even if L. herself consents – and westwards across the

sea. But in fact the correspondences with Callisthenes' snatching of (Cl.'s half-sister) Calligone from the shoreline (2.18) are closer. The myth thus partially misdirects the reader. Nevertheless, the intimations of violence in the picture are disturbing, in view of both the imminent sufferings of L. and the undercurrent of sexual violence that runs through the romance (Intro. 6(a)).

The painting (or the narrator's description of it) also comments more generally on the psychology of adolescence, with the sea representing sexual awakening: the maidens' response of simultaneous joy and fear as they dip their toes (1.1.7) suggests their nervous excitement.

The narrator places considerable emphasis upon the creative skill behind the painting (ἔγραψεν, τεχνίτης (*bis*), γραφεύς, γραφῆς, ἐγέγραπτο (*bis*), ἐπεποίητο, ἐγγεγράφθαι; Möllendorff 2009: 157–8), and demonstrates an understanding of specialist techniques such as the depiction of shadow (1.1.4), nuances of colour (ὑπέρυθρον, κυάνεον, περιλευκαίνων, 1.1.8–9), the use of lines to indicate facial expression (1.1.7n., on σεσηρυῖαι), the handling of transparent drapery (see below) and the depiction of clothing billowing in imaginary wind (1.1.12). On the development of such techniques in Hellenistic painting see Kakoulli 2009: 76–80.

A.'s primary literary reference-point is Moschus' *Europa* (Campbell 1991: 71; Mignogna 1993: 180–1; Whitmarsh 2011: 89 n. 98). A.'s flower catalogue is a pared-down and subtly altered version of Moschus' (see 1.1.5n.), and there are further verbal echoes: ἐπεκάθητο τοῖς νώτοις τοῦ βοός (1.1.10) ~ ἐφεζομένη . . . βοέοις ἐπὶ νώτοις (*Eur.* 125); τῆι λαιᾶι τοῦ κέρως ἐχομένη (1.1.10) ~ τῆι μὲν ἔχεν ταύρου δολιχὸν κέρας (*Eur.* 126); ὁ . . . κόλπος τοῦ πέπλου πάντοθεν ἐτέτατο κυρτούμενος (1.1.12) ~ κολπώθη δ' ὤμοισι πέπλος βαθὺς Εὐρωπείης (*Eur.* 129); ὥσπερ ἱστίωι τῶι πέπλωι χρωμένη (1.1.12) ~ ἱστίον οἷά τε νηός (*Eur.* 130). Another important hypotext is the abduction of Persephone in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*; the list of nymphs picking flowers in the meadow at *HHomDem.* 418–23 includes both a Leucippe and a Melite (the name of Cl.'s other significant love interest), as well as a Callirhoe. The *Homeric Hymn* includes a flower catalogue (crocus, iris, rose, lily, hyacinth: 426–8) that partly overlaps with A.'s. There are more distant echoes of the Homeric Nausicaa and her nymph-like (*Od.* 6.105) companions encountering Odysseus by the river (*Od.* 6.130–3, 137–8); and of Alcinous' palace (1.1.5n.). There are verbal parallels too with Long.'s *D&C*, although it is impossible to determine priority with confidence (1.1.5n., 1.1.7–8n.; Intro 4(a)). More generally, the ἁρπαγή motif at the head of a narrative suggests a tradition of high literature, thanks to the precedent of Helen in the Trojan cycle, and the opening of Herodotus (Hdt. 1.1–5, where the abduction of Europa is one of the Persian stories to which the Phoenicians seem to assent).

Europa is known to Homer as the daughter of Phoenix (*Iliad* 14.321), a name that may – but need not – suggest that he understands her to be Phoenician. Eumelus' (*PEG* Eumelus frr. 11–13) and Stesichorus' (fr. 96 Finglass) poems on the subject are lost; the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (sixth century BCE?) provides the earliest extant version of what would become the canonical story of Zeus spying her in a meadow, desiring her, transforming himself into a bull and abducting her overseas to Crete to consummate his desire. In the *Catalogue* she is the daughter of Phoenix and grand-daughter of Arabus, names that again strongly suggest easternness, but the lacunose papyrus contains no explicit identification of her homeland (frr. 137–41 M–W). From classical times onwards, however, she has Cadmus as a brother and Agenor (the king variously of Sidon and Tyre) as father. The etymology of her name is unclear, but Greeks probably understood it to mean 'broad-faced' or 'with expansive gaze' (cf. εὐρύοπα, the Iliadic epithet of Zeus). From the classical period the myth became a popular one in many artistic media, including painting, cameos, statues and mosaics (*LIMC* 'Europe I', with 16, 125–8, 224 for the paintings). She appears commonly on Sidonian coins from Hellenistic times, as Phoenician cities competed for the prestige bestowed by Greek myth (*LIMC* 'Europe I' 110, 204; Bonnet 2015: 347–9). The relationship between the mythical girl and the homonymous continent was unclear to Herodotus (4.45.4), and has remained so.

Europa's portrayal side-saddle on the bull with a robe held between her outstretched hands is conventional in ancient iconography. There is no exact parallel containing all the elements of this depiction, but we do find a number of instances of Europa side-saddle with drapes billowing behind, turning the bull's head to face the viewer, and accompanied by erotes and sea-creatures including dolphins (see the illustrations at *LIMC* 'Europe I' 74, 164); all that is missing is the grasping of the tail. A. presents her as strikingly active, even dominant: she rides Zeus like a horse (1.1.10n.) and pilots him like a ship (1.1.12n.).

There are echoes in the ecphrasis of the earlier description of Sidon. The short verbless sentences at 1.1.2 hark back to the opening words of the romance (1.1.1). κατὰ πλευράν at 1.1.10 (of Europa's side-saddle position) picks up the same phrase at 1.1.1 (of Sidon's shore). At 1.1.11–12, ἠρέμα προκύπτοντες . . . ἔκλειε . . . κόλπος reprises the opening description of Sidon's harbour (δίδυμος λιμὴν ἐν κόλπωι πλατύς, ἠρέμα κλείων τὸ πέλαγος). The effect is to emphasise the eroticism of the landscape by assimilating it to the female body (1.1.1n., 1.1.12n.).

The depiction of Europa represents the culmination of the frame's ecphrastic eroticism. She is described voyeuristically and anatomically, as

an aggregate of body parts: feet, hands, chest, pubic region, belly, waist, pelvic region, breasts. Her face and hair are not mentioned (in contrast with the description of L. at 1.4.3). Eroticism is also generated ecphrastically: although fixed at one temporal moment by virtue of its medium, the painting hints, in the narrator's imagination at any rate, at the imminent revelation of Europa's body in full nudity. The narrator detects a dynamic tension between the girdle, which serves to enclose her and 'lock her away' (ἔκλειε: 1.1.11n., and Intro. 5(a)), and the torsion in her body, which 'splays' her (τείνω recurs three times: 1.1.11n.). He lays considerable emphasis upon the diaphanous nature of the drapery, and on the almost-but-not-quite emergence of the flesh from underneath: thus her body is 'half-glimpsed' (ὑπέφαινετο, 1.1.10); her breasts 'slightly peek out' (ἠρέμα προκύπτοντες, 1.1.11); her tunic becomes a 'mirror' (κάτοπτρον) of her body. This play with surface and depth is characteristic of much ancient artwork, both pictorial and sculptural: the evocation of a body beneath the drapery is one way of exploring and experimenting with the limitations of a medium in which the surface is all (Neer 2010: 139). A.'s brinkmanship is characteristic of vivid ecphrasis, which havers between the promise of realism and self-awareness about the artifice of the text (Webb 2009). The teasing semi-revelation of the female body to the gaze through layers of thin clothing can be paralleled in erotic epigram (esp. *Anth. Pal.* 5.104.3–4: εὖ σε περισφίγγει λεπτὸς στολιδώμασι πέπλος, / πάντα δέ σου βλέπεται γυμνὰ καὶ οὐ βλέπεται).

1.1.2 Εὐρώπης . . . Σιδῶνος ἡ γῆ: the echoes of the opening description of Sidon are stylistic (the prose-poetical style use of short, elliptical phrasing, rhyme and rhythmic clausulae) and verbal (Φοινίκων, ἡ θάλασσα).

1.1.3 ἐν τῆι . . . ἐν τῆι . . . ἐπενήχετο . . . ἐπεκάθητο: anaphora and phonetic repetition underline the prose-poetic quality of the passage. The prefix of ἐπενήχετο distinguishes swimming 'on the surface' from submersion. **λειμών:** usually, as here, a stretch of fertile land next to a water source (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.459–68). On the mythical associations of such places with the violation of maidens see 1.1.2–13n. Since flowers tend to grow profusely in such places, the word could also be used of a literary compendium (esp. Clem. *Strom.* 6.1.2.1, but see already Ar. *Frogs* 1299–1300, and Hindermann 2013: 356–7; cf. ἀνθολογία, *florilegium*); A.'s use of the word in the context of a highly rhetorical description emphasising variety may carry some such connotation. On the flower theme see Intro. 5(b). **χορὸς παρθένων:** A. can use χορός metaphorically (cf. 1.15.1, of columns; 3.25.5, of birds; 8.6.4, of reeds on the panpipe), but here there is a suggestion that the girls are acting as (or analogously to) a real chorus,

with Europa in the role of leader (cf. 1.1.7–8n.; Mosch. *Eur.* 28–32). Female chorus-leaders had considerable authority within the group, an authority that could be figured in terms of exceptional beauty (cf. Hagesichora in Alcm. *PMG* 1 and Helen in Theocr. 18, with Nagy 1990: 345–51). Female choral dancing was closely linked with nobility and imminent marriage (Calame 1997: 202–6 and *passim*). **τοῖς νώτοις:** A. uses νῶτος and νῶτον interchangeably, and νῶτον in both the sing. and the more poetic plur. (which retains the sing. meaning). **τῶι ταύρωι πλέουσα** 'using the bull as a ship', lit. 'sailing with the bull'. The instrumental dat. is unusual, but hardly impossible (*pace* Dawe 2001: 291). **ἐκόμα:** the metaphor is most commonly applied to abundant foliage, but can be used of any kind of botanical profusion. **πολλοῖς ἄνθεσιν . . . δένδρων:** flowers, shady trees and water (ὕδωρ, 1.1.5: see n.) are the three primary components of a *locus amoenus* (cf. 1.15.1–6, with n.). Similarly, Long.'s proemial narrator finds the Lesbian grove πολύδενδρον, ἀνθηρόν, κατάρρυτον (*Praef.* 1). **συνεχῆ . . . συνηρεφῆ . . . συνῆπτον . . . συμπλοκή:** the repetition of the prefix both describes the commingling (cf. ἀνεμέμικτο) of the plants and emphasises the erotic theme. **ὄροφος:** the meadow has a metaphorical 'roof' (cf. ὀρόφων, 1.1.5) of leaves; we shall presently discover it has a (literal) wall, too (1.1.5). The house-like meadow from which Europa is abducted prefigures the literal house from which L. will be taken.

1.1.4 ὁ ἥλιος ἠρέμα τοῦ λειμῶνος κάτω σποράδην διέρρει 'the sun gently poured down, dispersing into patches across the meadow below'. The gen. after διέρρει has been felt to be awkward and in need of emendation (Vilborg 1962: 20; O'Sullivan 1978: 313), but cf. δι' αὐτῶν . . . καταρρέουσα at 1.9.4, and for an exact parallel Jos. *Bell. Jud.* 3.274. ἠρέμα connects the meadow with the Sidonian harbour (1.1.1) and Europa's breasts (1.1.11). **ὅσον** 'to the extent that', i.e. the patches of light on the ground correspond to gaps in the vault of foliage (whether we are to imagine these as visible in the painting or as inferred by viewers).

1.1.5 ὅλον ἐτείχιζε τὸν λειμῶνα περιβολή: as so often in *L&C* (1.9.1, 1.13.2, 2.22.3, 6.20.1), ὅλος is used predicatively (and marked as such by its position in the sentence), i.e. 'a wall enclosed the meadow *completely*' (Smyth §1172). The meadow is framed by an artificial wall, just as the secondary harbour of Sidon was; the bull breaks into this frame, just as the unnamed narrator entered that of the harbour. See Intro. 5(a) on the theme of protected interiors. **τοῦ τῶν ὀρόφων στεφανώματος** 'the crown formed by the roofing'. The intertwined leaves of the trees form a vault covering the meadow. **αἱ δὲ πρασιαὶ . . . μυρρίναι:** a flower catalogue partially modelled on Moschus' *Europa* (narcissi, hyacinths, violets, herpylli, roses: *Eur.*

65–71). The orderliness of the flower plantations (πρασιαὶ . . . στοιχηδὸν ἐπεφύκεσαν) looks to the garden of the Homeric Alcinous (κοσμηταὶ πρασιαὶ . . . παντοῖαι πεφύασιν, *Od.* 7.127–8). **ἐπεφύκεσαν:** the pluperf. act. of φύω has an intransitive sense ('grow', 'be planted'). **ὕδωρ κατὰ μέσον ἔρρει:** water sources are regular features of *loci amoeni* (cf. 1.1.3n., 1.15.6; Hom. *Od.* 7.129–31; Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 3.221–7). The description of the spring in the λειμών outside Long.'s cave of the nymphs is clearly related to A.'s (with ἀναβλύζον . . . περιχεόμενον cf. Long's ἀναβλύζον ὕδωρ . . . χεόμενον, *D&C* 1.4.3); the direction of influence is, as ever, indeterminate.

1.1.6 ὀχετηγός τις . . . ῥεύματι: the irrigator getting on with his job while a girl is being abducted by a bull is at first sight an anomalous touch in the painting. His primary role is to reinforce the theme of human, cultural intervention into the natural landscape. A. alludes to Homer's simile describing the gushing Scamander: 'As an irrigator (ὀχετηγός) who channels its (the river's) current guides from a dusky spring a stream of water among his plants and garden plots, a mattock in his hands (μάκελλαν ἔχων), and clears away the blockages from the channel (ἀμάρης), and as it flows all the pebbles beneath are swept along . . .' (*Il.* 21.257–61). The allusion not only parades the narrator's learnedness – the simile was widely discussed by ancient stylistic theorists (Hunter 2009: 158–9) – but also foreshadows the violence of the currents out to sea (1.1.9): readers aware of the Iliadic source would be reminded of the mighty onrush of the Scamander. **ἐγέγραπτο** 'had been depicted'. The verb also suggests writing, perhaps hinting at the literary origin of this scene (see previous lemma, and Intro. 4(a) on such intertextual indices). The pluperf. is often used in ancient ecphraseis to record the manufactured aspect of the artistic medium (de Jong 2015). **μίαν** is an indefinite article, i.e. a vernacular synonym for τινα (Sexauer 1899: 28; cf. the modern ένας/μία/ένα, and Intro. 4(d)). But it is not without literary point, marking as it does the contrast with δίκελλαν ('a two-pronged fork'; contrast μάκελλα, 'single-pronged fork', in the Homeric source). **ταῖς ἐπὶ θάλατταν τῆς γῆς ἐκβολαῖς:** i.e. the fingers of land that protrude into the sea. A. has manipulated syntax so that land abuts the sea in the sentence too.

1.1.7–8 The maidens are assimilated partly to choral dancers (1.1.3n.), partly to nymphs (1.1.2–13n., on the echoes of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*): the eroticised description is appropriate to both (unbound hair; revealed limbs; girdle (ζῶσμα), the loosening of which would indicate defloration; itemisation of body parts). Long.'s description of the statues of Nymphs outside their grove (*D&C* 1.4.2) is very similar to A.'s here: τὸ σχῆμα (A.) ~ τὸ . . . σχῆμα (Long.); τὸ σκέλος ἅπαν γεγυμνωμέναι (A.) ~ χεῖρες εἰς ὤμους

γυμναί (Long.); κόμαι κατὰ τῶν ὤμων λελυμέναι (A.) ~ κόμαι μέχρι τῶν αὐχένων λελυμέναι (Long.); τὸ . . . ζῶσμα μέχρι γόνατος ἀνεῖλκε τὸν χιτῶνα (A.) ~ ζῶμα περὶ τὴν ἰξύν (Long.); σεσηρυῖαι τὰς παρειάς (A.) ~ μειδίαμα περὶ τὴν ὀφρύν (Long.). The timid collective of anonymous παρθένοι offsets the adventurousness of Europa, who confidently rides the bull on the open sea: the contrast recalls Hom. *Od.* 6.127–38 (Nausicaa's companions flee when faced by Odysseus, another beast from the sea; she alone confronts him).

1.1.7 τὸ σχῆμα ταῖς παρθένοις καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ φόβου 'the girls' expression was one of simultaneous joy and fear'. A. reverts to his prose-poetic style, with verbless sentences and a rhythmic clausula (– ⏑ – – ⏑ –: see Intro. 4(b)). The 'conflict of emotions' *topos* (ultimately rooted in Hom. *Il.* 6.484) is much favoured by the romance-writers (Fusillo 1999; cf. esp. 1.4.5). The girls' emotions are inferred and interpreted by the frame-narrator, as the subsequent gloss at 1.1.8 clarifies: 'they seemed (ἐώικεσαν) both to want to run after the bull and to fear (φοβεῖσθαι) to enter the sea'. The pictorial depiction of mixed emotions in girls is aestheticised and eroticised elsewhere in this period (3.7.2, Luc. *De domo* 22, Philostr. *Imag.* 1.29). Cl. too experiences joy and fear at 2.23.3. **τὸ σκέλος ἅπαν . . . τοῦ πεδίλου** 'their legs were entirely naked: no tunic covered the upper part nor sandal the lower part'. The gens. τοῦ χιτῶνος . . . τοῦ πεδίλου are dependent on γεγυμνωμέναι. The girls are presumably barefoot, while their tunics have merely been hitched up (see following sentence). **τὸ . . . ζῶσμα μέχρι γόνατος ἀνεῖλκε τὸν χιτῶνα:** apparently borrowed from Apollonius' description of Medea's servants, who 'lifted (ἄν . . . ἄειρον) their delicate tunics (χιτῶνας) up to their white thighs (ἐπιγουνίδος)' (*Arg.* 3.874–5). **σεσηρυῖαι τὰς παρειάς:** σαίρειν is usually an action of the mouth ('grin' or 'grimace': e.g. Luc. *Amor.* 15). Perhaps we are to imagine lines on their cheeks indicating strained facial muscles as they gape. **ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν βοῦν:** either 'as if towards the bull' (i.e. acknowledging that the intentions of the painted girls have to be inferred), or simply 'towards the bull', with redundant ὡς (LSJ C.II).

1.1.8–9 The description of the sea and the bull. Between the two eroticised descriptions of females, emphasising their gentleness (ἠρέμα, 1.1.4 and 1.1.11) and availability to the erotic gaze, stands one of elemental masculine power: the bull's visible limb churns the water, creating mountainous peaks and whitening the sea with foam. In the corresponding ecphrasis of Andromeda in Book 3, the role of the bull is taken by the sea monster, which similarly churns the water (3.7.6).

1.1.8 ἄκρας τῆς θαλάττης: the adj. is predicative, i.e. 'the sea's edge' (1.1.5n.). **ὡς ἐπί:** 1.1.7n. **τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ πέλαγος:** prose-poetic variation

of word-order (Intro. 4(b)), resulting in the juxtaposition of the two colour terms. **ὑπέρυθρον** 'somewhat ruddy', perhaps as a result of dark sand visible beneath. On A.'s fondness for ὑπο- prefixes see Intro. 4(d).

1.1.9 ὑπερβεβλημέναι 'jutting out from'. Lit., the crags 'outdo' the land by stretching out even further than it. ὑπερβεβλημέναι, like the subsequent parts. περιλευκαίνων, κορυφούμενον, λυόμενον, functions as an adj., with ellipsis of the verb 'to be'. **περιλευκαίνων . . . κῦμα κορυφούμενον καὶ . . . κύμασιν . . . κύματος . . . καμπτόμενον . . . κυρτοῦται . . . σκέλος:** alliteration evokes the violent splashing. τὸ κῦμα κορυφούμενον possibly alludes to Hom. *Il.* 4.124 (so Zanetto 1990: 239). **ὡς ὄρους ἀναβαίνοντος τοῦ κύματος** 'the wave rising like a mountain' (the perturbation of the regular word order is a poeticism).

1.1.10 κατὰ πλευράν, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ συμβᾶσα τὼ πόδε 'side-saddle, her feet together on the bull's right side'. The description echoes that of Sidon (ὁ κόλπος κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κοιλαίνεται, 1.1.1). δεξιά reveals for the first time that the bull is travelling from left (where the land lies) to right. In extant art, the bull can be portrayed heading in either direction. **ὥσπερ ἡνίοχος χαλινοῦ** 'like a rider holding (supply ἐχόμενος) the reins'. Both ἡνίοχος (normally 'charioteer') and χαλινός (normally 'bit') are used eccentrically: A.'s grasp of equestrianism and its terminology is in general suspect (cf. 1.12.4n., 1.14.2n.; the correct use of χαλινός at 1.12.3 is due to the Platonic allusion). The simile, like that of the ship at 1.1.12, suggests that Europa is controlling the bull. **καὶ γὰρ ὁ βοῦς . . . ἕλκον ἡνιοχούμενος** 'for the bull had turned its head (i.e. to face the viewer) all the more because it was being steered in the direction that her hand was pulling'. γάρ marks an explanation of the simile ὥσπερ ἡνίοχος χαλινοῦ (hence ἡνιοχούμενος). The frontal aspect of the bull is conventional in the iconography. ταύτηι modifies μᾶλλον adverbially, the dat. of the measure of difference (Smyth §1513): A. standardly uses the feminine form of the pronoun (cf. 1.2.2, 1.9.6, 2.22.4). **τὸ τῆς χειρὸς ἕλκον** is in effect a nominal phrase, 'the pressure of her hand': on A.'s fondness for τό + part. see Intro. 4(d). Europa's ability to bend the bull to her will is another indication of her active agency: holding bulls by the horn is in general a sign of heroic vigour (Hom. *Il.* 23.780, Call. *Hec.* fr. 258 Pf. = 67 Hollis; cf. Ap. Rh. 3.1306–7, ps.-Theocr. 25.145–6, *AP* 16.105). **αἰδοῦς** 'modesty' (i.e. 'genitals'), a substitution for αἰδοίων by metonymy. **τοὐντεῦθεν** 'from there on down'. **ἡ χλαῖνα πορφυρᾶ:** an impressive, expensive garment (cf. 2.11.2–4). Purple dye is famously a product of the Phoenician coastal cities (2.11.4–8n.). The phrase suggests the Odyssean initial formula χλαῖναν πορφυρέην (Hom. *Od.* 4.115, 154, 19.225); the aura of grandeur is enhanced by prose-poetical ellipsis

and a spondaic clausula. **τὸ . . . σῶμα διὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ὑπεφαίνετο** 'her body could be half-glimpsed through the clothing', the ὑπο- prefix suggesting a partial or incomplete process (Intro. 4(d)). On diaphanous drapery in art see 1.1.2–13n.

1.1.11 τεταμένη: the first of three perf. or pluperf. pass. parts. of τείνω in rapid sequence (cf. διετέταντο, ἐτέτατο at 1.1.12). The part. functions as an adj. (1.1.9n., on ὑπερβεβλημέναι). Here the primary meaning is 'flat', i.e 'stretched out like a sheet'. The cumulative effect of the verbs is to present Europa's body as both full of dynamic torsion (a quality prized in ancient art: Xen. *Mem.* 3.10.7) and opened up to the viewer's gaze, thus counteracting the effects of the clothing that conceals and encloses. **τὸ στενὸν εἰς ἰξὺν καταβαῖνον ηὐρύνετο** 'the narrowness gave way to breadth as it descended towards her pelvic area'. **μαζοὶ τῶν στέρνων ἠρέμα προκύπτοντες** 'Her breasts were slightly peeking out from her chest', both suggesting that the painter's skill has created a three-dimensional visual effect and offering an eroticised glimpse of naked flesh. A. has repurposed a phrase used by Char. of Callirhoe's modest stoop (ἠρέμα προσκύψασα, Char. 8.4.9; cf. Char. 2.5.5, and Hld. 7.12.7). **ἡ συνάγουσα ζώνη τὸν χιτῶνα καὶ τοὺς μαζοὺς ἔκλειε** 'the girdle that drew together her tunic also locked her breasts away'. The phrasing pre-empts the later description of the painting of Philomela, where the rape is much more explicitly violent: 'with her left hand she locked away (ἔκλειεν) her breasts, using the ragged remains of her tunic' (5.3.6). The 'locking in' of the breasts (cf. Hld. 3.4.2) picks up κλείων, of Sidon's harbour walls, at 1.1.1, and hints at the domestic sequestering of women that will be such a dominant theme of Books 1 and 2 (Intro. 5(a)). **κάτοπτρον:** i.e. a reflected image (σκιά: cf. 1.15.6), by metonymy. A. has a particular fascination with reflections: he is the only novelist to mention mirrors, which he does five times in total (also 1.9.4, 1.15.6, 5.13.4, 6.6.2; Clo 2015).

1.1.12 αἱ χεῖρες ἄμφω: on the periphrastic dual see Intro. 4(d). **διετέταντο:** pluperf. pass. of διατείνω. **ἤρτητο:** pluperf. pass. of ἀρτάω ('fix', 'append'). **ἡ καλύπτρα κύκλωι τῶν νώτων ἐμπεπετασμένη** 'her veil, spread out in an arc behind her back, . . .'. ἐμπεπετασμένη is from ἐμπετάννυμι (a non-Attic form: Intro. 4(d)). κύκλωι is adverbial, in effect a preposition governing τῶν νώτων (on the plur. see 1.1.3n.). **ὁ . . . κόλπος:** another echo of the opening description of Sidon (cf. 1.1.1): the frame-narrator sees eroticism in both Europa and the landscape (1.1.2–13n.). ὁ . . . κόλπος τοῦ πέπλου borrows from Eur. *Mosch.* 129 (κολπώθη . . . πέπλος). **πάντοθεν . . . κυρτούμενος** 'billowing in every direction' (πάντοθεν = πάντοσε: Intro. 4(d)). κυρτούμενος assimilates the squalling gusts to the heaving waves

created by the bull's paddling (cf. κυρτοῦται, 1.1.9). **ἦν οὗτος ἄνεμος τοῦ ζωγράφου** 'that is how the painter represented the wind', lit. 'this was the painter's wind' (a syzygic affirmation: Intro. 4(b)). The narrator slides from a 'realist' description of the billowing of the robe to an analysis of the artistic technique that represents it in two dimensions. **δίκην . . . πλεούσης νηός** 'as if it (the bull) were a sailing-ship'. The prepositional use of δίκην, its unusual position in the sentence, and the Ionic νηός (perhaps borrowed from Moschus: see following n.) create a grandiose, poetic effect; this is reinforced by the repetition of ω and the series of heavy syllables in the clausula (Intro. 4(b)). The comparison to a ship is an indicator of the focalisation of the frame-narrator (1.1.2–13n., Intro. 4(c)). Like the horse-riding simile of 1.1.10, it puts the emphasis upon Europa's agency, at least in the narrator's eyes. **ὥσπερ ἱστίοι τῶι πέπλωι χρωμένη:** cf. Mosch. *Eur.* 130 (ἱστίον οἷά τε νηός).

1.1.13 ὠρχοῦντο δελφῖνες, ἔπαιζον Ἔρωτες: the asyndeton is another poetic touch. Sea-creatures and Erotes are familiar components of tableaux depicting Europa (1.1.10–13n.). Their 'dancing' and 'playing' suggest a levity that conforms to the general placidity of the scene (as the narrator sees it), while also contrasting with the violence implicit in the bull's plashing limbs (1.1.8–9n.). The dancing dolphins reactivate the imagery of Europa as a chorus-leader (1.1.3n.). The playful Erotes recall Xen. Eph.'s ecphrastic description of the lovers' marriage coverlet (cf. παίζοντες Ἔρωτες, *A&H* 1.8.2). **εἶπες ἂν αὐτῶν ἐγγεγράφθαι καὶ τὰ κινήματα:** such 'you would have said' statements are a feature of sophistically-influenced ecphrastic discourse (e.g. Char. 8.6.11, Ael. *VH* 2.44, *DNA* 1.2). They can be understood as the apodosis of a conditional sentence with an unexpressed protasis ('if you had been there to see it yourself'). Typically, such phrases in ecphrasis envisage a scenario in which the hypothetical viewer mistakes the artwork for reality (e.g. Hld. 3.4.4: 'you would have said that' the artificial snakes were actually crawling); here an undeceived viewer admires the illusionistic effects. The phrasing seems to have developed out of Hellenistic poets' refinement of the Homeric phrase φαίης κε(ν). Adverbial καί is redundant after αὐτῶν. **Ἔρως εἵλκε τὸν βοῦν:** the winged god is depicted in the air on the right of the picture (see below on μετέστραπτο), presumably 'guiding' the bull towards its destination rather than 'dragging' him. The same verb was used of Europa's pressure on his horn, which caused it to turn towards the viewer (ἕλκον, 1.10). The question of agency is therefore posed in stark terms: who is guiding the bull, Eros or Europa? Or does Eros stand, by metonymy, for Zeus's desire for Europa, so that Zeus is in control? **τὸ πτερόν** 'his wings' (i.e. not the feathers of his arrows). **πτερόν . . . φαρέτραν . . .**

πῦρ: Eros' three iconographic tokens (to which Cl. will recur in his own narrative: see 2.5.2, ἵπταμαι καὶ τοξεύω καὶ φλέγω, with n. *ad loc.*), described in three alliterative, asyndetic phrases. A. repeatedly plays on the slippage between the metaphorical flames and darts of love and the real violence they can cause. **ἤρτητο** is mid. (contrast the pass. sense of the same word at 1.1.12): 'he had fitted to him', i.e. 'he carried'. **ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ** 'he was wielding his torch'. On κρατέω + acc. = 'hold' see Intro. 4(d). The definite article reflects the familiarity of the iconography. **μετέστραπτο . . . ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Δία καὶ ὑπεμειδία** 'he had turned back as if to face Zeus, and gave a discreet (ὑπ-) smile'. The repetition of (-)δία creates a pleasing phonetic effect. On ὡς ἐπί see 1.1.7n. μετέστραπτο assimilates Eros to the bull (cf. ἐπέστραπτο, 1.1.10), while also marking the difference: Eros chooses to turn his head, while the bull is subject to another's command. Since the bull is travelling from left to right (cf. 1.1.1on.), Eros must be positioned on the far right of the picture, leading the way towards Crete: to see the bull behind him he must crane his head backwards. **δι' αὐτὸν γέγονε βοῦς:** an epigrammatic culmination to the ecphrasis (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9.48 (Ζεὺς κύκνος, ταῦρος, σάτυρος, χρυσὸς δι' ἔρωτα / Λήδης, Εὐρώπης, Ἀντιόπης, Δανάης), 9.453 (ταῦρος . . . ἐγένου, 4) etc.).

1.2: Introducing Clitophon

As the narrator is contemplating the picture and discoursing on the power of Eros, a young man appears and offers to illustrate the point with an autobiographical story. They relocate to a pleasant spot for the tale. The topography carries strong echoes of Plato's *Phaedrus* (1.2.3n.), and more than a passing similarity to the 'beautiful grove' (καλὸν . . . ἄλσος) dedicated to the nymphs where Long.'s narrator encounters the painting (also furnished with many trees (πολύδενδρον) and much water (κατάρρυτον), 1. *pr.*; see further Martin 2002 on the topographic setting). The meeting also recalls that of Telemachus and Mentes at Hom. *Od.* 1.119–31. The grove responds to the pictorial meadow (λειμών) from which Europa was abducted, another rustic space dominated by trees and water (1.1.3–6).

1.2.1 ἐγὼ . . . τὸν βοῦν 'Among all the details of the painting that I admired, I examined with particular attention – erotically inclined as I was – the figure leading the bull'. On 'inclusive' ἄλλος (i.e. τὰ ἄλλα includes the figure of Eros) see Smyth §1273. ἐρωτικός could indicate either a specialist in the subject of desire (cf. Ath. 13.599e) or one who is in love (both are also possible at 1.16.2). περιεργία is 'inquisitiveness', often in the negative sense of poking one's nose into another's affairs (similar to πολυπραγμοσύνη: see in general Leigh 2013); here it suggests

attentiveness, perhaps with a hint of obsessiveness. **οἷον . . . θαλάττης:** οἷον is adverbial and exclamatory, standing (as so often in *L&C*) for ὡς. ἄρχει + gen. = 'holds sway over'. The narrator's sententious exclamation comes in the form of an *epimythion*, an observation that aims to capture the central moral message of a story. After the grand ecphrasis, the praise of the universal power of Eros arrives bathetically as something of a cliché (for parallels see e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 497–506; Eur. *Hipp.* 439–81; Petr. *Sat.* 83; Opp. *Hal.* 4.31–9). A number of imperial orators expatiated on the god's power to influence non-human subjects and objects (Reitzenstein 1900: 95–100); see also 1.17.1n. and Intro. 5(b). **νεανίσκος:** a youth in his late teens (Davidson 2007: 83–6). Cl. will turn out to be 19 (1.3.3). **καὶ αὐτὸς παρεστώς** 'who was also present, standing nearby'. **ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἂν εἰδείην** 'I know that all too well', lit. 'I would know that' (cf. Pl. *Ion* 540d γνοίην . . . ἂν ἔγωγε). **τοσαύτας ὕβρεις ἐξ Ἔρωτος παθών:** the narrator expressed Eros' power as a form of universal kingship (ἄρχει); Cl. by contrast sees it in terms of illicit thuggery (ὕβρις in law is an act of aggression inflicted by one person on another). The reasons for Cl.'s apparent unhappiness here (and for L.'s apparent absence) are never disclosed: see 1.1–2n and Intro. 4(c). Cl.'s introduction to his tale of woe distantly echoes Odysseus' at Hom. *Od.* 9.14–15 (Most 1989).

1.2.2 ὦ ἀγαθέ: a relatively neutral form of greeting, which may however in some circumstances carry a note of condescension (Dickey 1996: 139). The narrator, who seems to be older (as the following sentence suggests), may be mildly patronising his interlocutor. **καὶ γὰρ . . . τελετῆς** 'for in fact (καὶ γάρ) I see from your face that it cannot be long since you were inducted into the god's (i.e. Eros') mysteries', i.e. to judge by Cl.'s youthful looks he cannot have been sexually active for long. The Greek syntax represents a conflation of two separate ideas: 'I see your face' and 'I see that you are not far from (μακράν, adverbial = μακρὰν ἀπό: cf. 2.27.1n.) the god's initiation'. Mystery-cult imagery, borrowed from Plato, is used frequently of sexual acts in *L&C* (Intro. 6(a)); the present passage, in this generally Phaedran context, probably looks to Pl. *Phdr.* 251a (ὁ . . . ἀρτιτελής). Additionally, τελετή seems to play self-reflexively on the root τέλος: Cl.'s 'initiation' took place at the 'end' of his erotic narrative, i.e. the conclusion of the romance. **σμῆνος ἀνεγείρεις . . . λόγων** 'you are stirring up a storm of stories', an allusion to Pl. *Rep.* 5.450b ('don't you realise what a hornet's nest of a debate (ἑσμὸν λόγων) you're stirring up?'). Whereas Socrates refers to the philosophical complexity of the debate that will ensue, Cl. is forewarning of the epic scale and the tragic tenor of the following narrative (like Odysseus in *Odyssey* 9: see 1.2.1n., on τοσαύτας ὕβρεις). **τὰ . . . ἐμὰ μύθοις ἔοικε** 'my story (τὰ . . . ἐμά = τὰ κατ' ἐμέ)

resembles myth'. The phrasing echoes Xen. Eph. 3.1.4 (μεγάλα . . . τἀμὰ διηγήματα καὶ πολλὴν ἔχοντα τραγωιδίαν; cf. also Hld. 2.21.5, drawing on A.). Since he is explaining (γάρ) his reference to a 'swarm of stories', Cl. presumably means primarily that the gravity and complexity of his experiences resemble those found in myth. At the authorial level, however, A. hints that the imminent tale has a fictional quality: particularly when set in opposition to λόγος, μῦθος can suggest an untrue tale (see 1.17.3, and esp. Pl. *Grg.* 523a, *Tim.* 26d–e; Long. 2.7.1; the rhetorician Theon defines μῦθος as 'a false story in the guise of a true one', *RG* Spengel 2.59). 'Phoenician tales', indeed, were proverbially associated with fiction (Pl. *Rep.* 3.414c; Strab. 259b). Elsewhere A. uses μῦθος in a range of senses, to refer also both to 'myths' in our sense (e.g. 2.2.1, 2.2.2) and to 'narratives' (irrespective of their truth: e.g. 1.8.4, 3.15.6; Schmid-Dümmler 2018: 67–70, esp. 67 n. 56). **μὴ κατοκνήσῃς:** the phrase indicates both an eagerness to hear (cf. μηδὲν . . . ὄκνει at Pl. *Rep.* 5.450d, in response to Socrates' anxiety about the prospect of a 'hornet's nest of debate') and a suspicion that the young man may be embarrassed to tell a stranger about his erotic misadventures: cf. Char. 8.7.4, where Chaereas, hesitant (ὤκνει) to tell his story to the people of Syracuse, is urged by Hermocrates: 'do not be shy!' (μηδὲν αἰδεσθῆις; cf. also Char. 1.4.4–5). The narrator adopts a friendly, paternal tone, encouraging the young man to overcome his inhibitions. **ὦ βέλτιστε:** a common address in Plato, where it is typically used 'when the speaker is delivering a particularly crushing blow to his opponent'; in later Greek it is 'often ironic and can be used in a heavily sarcastic way' (Dickey 1996: 139). The narrator gently ribs Cl. for his reticence, as an older male might. **ταύτηι μᾶλλον** 'all the more' (1.1.10n.), modifying μὴ κατοκνήσῃς. **ἥσειν:** the act. ἥδω = 'please' is Ionic (Poll. 3.98). The inf., which has been thought 'suspect' (O'Sullivan ἥδομαι II), is best explained as the result of the merging of two separate constructions: (i) 'do not hold back from speaking' ((κατ)οκνεῖν + e.g. εἰπεῖν is very common, esp. in prohibitions), which yields the inf.; and (ii) 'you will give me all the more pleasure if . . .', which yields the fut. tense. **εἰ καὶ μύθοις ἔοικε** 'if your story (cf. τὰ . . . ἐμά in the previous sentence) does indeed (adverbial καί) resemble myth'.

1.2.3 δεξιοῦμαι 'take him by the hand', probably an indicator of the unnamed narrator's higher status (2.27.1n.), i.e. his age. **ἐπί τινος ἄλσους ἄγω γείτονος:** A. can use ἐπί + gen. to indicate regular motion to and arrival at a place (Intro. 4(d)). The plane trees and cool water are an obvious allusion to the setting of Plato's *Phaedrus* (229a–30c; Trapp 1990: 155), a cliché in A.'s day (Plut. *Mor.* 749a). There are echoes too of Soph. *OC* 9–11 (Oedipus asks Antigone to take him and seat him on a θάκησιν,

whether in a grove (ἄλσεσιν) or a profane place). An ἄλσος can have dedicated religious features (e.g. the statues at Pl. *Phdr.* 230b–c), or it can simply be a beauty spot (cf. 1.15.1). ἄγω is another Phaedran echo (πρόαγε, urges Socrates at 229a; cf. ἦγες, 230a; ἐξενάγηται, ξεναγουμένωι, 230c). **πλάτανοι:** the most formulaic element of such Phaedran scenes. **παρέρρει . . . ὕδωρ ψυχρόν τε καὶ διαυγές:** cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 229b (χαρίεντα . . . καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ ὑδάτια φαίνεται), 230b (μάλα ψυχροῦ); for a novelistic parallel see *P.Oxy.* 5356.3. **οἷον ἀπὸ χιόνος ἄρτι λυθείσης ἔρχεται** alludes to Hom. *Il.* 22.151–2. **καθίσας . . . παρακαθισάμενος:** just as Phaedrus and Socrates sought a place to sit (*Phdr.* 229a–b). **θώκου χαμαιζήλου:** a 'low seat', in both senses (close to the ground and humble, unpretentious). θῶκος is an Ionic word, found primarily in poetry. **ὥρα σοι . . . τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀκροάσεως** 'It is time for you to give the recitation of your story'. ὥρα (sc. ἐστί) has here a weak temporal force; elsewhere in *L&C* it has none at all, and is virtually equivalent to δεῖ (cf. 2.14.2, 2.22.7, 3.17.4, 3.22.4). The loss of the temporal component is perhaps due to conflation with ὦρα = 'care', 'concern', which was probably homophonous in this era. ἀκρόασις is the standard term in this era for the public performance of prose. Hld. 2.23.5 borrows from this passage. **πάντως . . . ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδύς:** another allusion to Plato's *Phaedrus* (οὐκ ἀηδές, 229a; τὸ εὔπνουν τοῦ τόπου . . . ἡδύ, 230c), but 'sweetness' is more generally a feature of pastoral spaces (Theocr. 1.1; Luc. *Am.* 18; Philostr. *Her.* 3.3–4, 5.1, and by extension of pastoral literature too: Hunter 1983: 92–8). ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος means 'a place of this kind'. τόπος is mildly self-reflexive: the 'place' appropriate for stories is also a literary τόπος, a 'commonplace' (LSJ II.2; cf. (ps.?-) Luc. *Amor.* 17). Hld. again echoes this passage (2.21.6).

1.3–4: Clitophon begins his tale: the dream and the arrival of L.

Cl. introduces himself, explaining that his Tyrian father had planned to marry him off to his half-sister Calligone; he had been happy enough with that plan, until his cousin L. came to stay and he fell in love with her at first sight, captivated by her beauty. The narrative is initiated by a lurid dream: Calligone and Cl., fused into a single form, are sundered by a terrifying female apparition wielding a scythe. The dream is complex, and points in multiple directions. Cl. takes it as a prophecy: as an actor in the narrative he reads it as portending an unspecified disaster; as retrospective narrator, he takes it to foreshadow the frustration of his father's plans for marriage. There are, however, other non-prognosticatory aspects. Genital dreams are nothing new in the Greek tradition (cf. Hdt. 1.108–9 with Pelling 1996), but Cl.'s dream is unparalleled in its combination of sexual imagery with the birth phenomenon now known as

conjoined twin syndrome, and specifically the variant called omphalopagus (whereby the siblings are joined at the lower abdomen). The fusion of the half-siblings at the loins suggests that it might be understood as a metaphor for the incestuous marriage that will be prevented. The dream-narrative also recalls Aristophanes' myth in Plato's *Symposium* (189d–93d), telling of a time when all humans were conjoined in pairs (Morales 2004: 52–3). The dream may also suggest castration anxiety: the figure brings the sickle 'down on my loins' (1.3.4), as if in the dream Calligone has become his penis; the sickle (ἅρπη) evokes the mythical castration of Uranus (Hes. *Th.* 174–82). According to Freud, castration anxiety is generated by a male child's Oedipal fantasies about displacing his father: the dream might be read in this light as foreshadowing Cl.'s anxieties about opposition to his father's wishes (cf. 1.11.3). At 1.4.3 an additional interpretation is retrospectively activated (see n. *ad loc.*): the dream-figure can be seen as a version of L. herself, whose arrival marks the separation of Cl. and Calligone.

1.3.1 ἐμοὶ Φοινίκη γένος 'My family is from Phoenicia', lit. 'Phoenicia is my family', a slight catachresis (but common and idiomatic). On Cl.'s cultural affiliation see Intro. 6(c). Like the frame-narrator, Cl. begins with a verbless list of features describing himself, as the frame-narrator did in relation to Sidon (1.1.1); here, however, πατήρ and μήτηρ are literal. **Τύρος:** the modern city of Tyre (Sur) in southern Lebanon. Sidon lies to the north. **Κλειτοφῶν . . . Ἱππίας:** on the names and their Platonic ancestry see Intro. 3(a). **οὐ πάντα δὲ ἀδελφός, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀμφοῖν εἷς πατήρ** '– well, not a full brother, but to the extent that they shared a father'. πάντα and ὅσον modify ἀδελφός adverbially; supply ἦν in the second clause. **Βυζαντία:** Byzantium was a medium-sized city in A.'s day, not yet the palatial capital it would become (as Constantinople) in the Christian Empire, and then (as Istanbul) in the Ottoman. **εἶχεν** 'remained', the intransitive use of ἔχω (LSJ B). **ὁ τῆς μητρὸς κλῆρος** 'the property that came from his mother', probably by inheritance (the past tense ἦν in 1.3.1 suggests that both grandmothers are dead); alternatively, Cl. may be presuming a legal system as in classical Athens, where a widow who had acquired property (e.g. on her husband's death) would be expected to pass it on to a son when he came of age. **κατώικει** probably 'dwelt in' rather than 'settled in' (i.e. having arrived from elsewhere): Intro. 6(c).

1.3.2 ἐπὶ νηπίῳ . . . μοι 'when I was an infant'. ἐπί + dat. of person = 'in the time of' (common for dating by imperial reign etc.). **Καλλιγόνη:** names beginning with 'Call-' are favoured by the novelists, for obvious

reasons (Intro. 3(a)). **ἐδόκει . . . γάμωι:** for a father to marry siblings, even half-siblings, is unusual. Commentators have offered as a parallel Cimon's alleged marriage to his agnate half-sister; but the belief that 'the Athenians are allowed to marry their sisters by the same father' (Nep. *Cim.* 1) seems implausible (cf. παρανόμως, Ath. 13.589e); and in any case, there is no reason to assume any shared legal framework between early classical Athens and Tyre in A.'s day. Perhaps there is a reflection here of A.'s own background in Egypt, where even full sibling marriages were permitted (Hopkins 1980). Even so, the proposed union would have been considered uncomfortably close to incest by many ancient readers. **αἱ . . . Μοῖραι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρείττονες:** a pompously fatalistic phrase of the kind favoured by Cl. The Moirai ('Fates') do not form part of the usual novelistic pantheon (they appear only at similarly tragic (Aesch. *Cho.* 306, *Eum.* 961, [*PV*] 516, 894) or paratragic moments (e.g. Long. 4.21.3, Hld. 10.20.2); on paratragedy in the romances see Whitmarsh 2011: 223–32). Calligone will be violently abducted at 2.18; her story will, however, end apparently happily (8.17). **ἄλλην ἐτήρουν μοι γυναῖκα:** a rare narrative prolepsis (Intro. 4(c)). **φιλεῖ . . . τὸ δαιμόνιον . . . λαλεῖν:** more grandiloquent bombast. τὸ δαιμόνιον ('the godhead') suggests the elevated language of philosophy (it is the term for Socrates' 'divine sign'); it appears only here in A., although lamenting characters do invoke δαίμονες or ὁ δαίμων (3.10.1, 5.11.1, 6.13.1, 8.4.4). λαλεῖν is not bathetic: in imperial Greek it means not 'chatter' but simply 'speak' (Papanikolaou 1973: 39–40). Cl.'s claim that prophecy comes to us from the 'daemonic' realm – i.e. that of sublunary deities – is consistent with philosophical beliefs from Plato onwards (Struck 2013). The emphasis on nocturnal prophecies is consistent with Cl.'s view that the mind is freer by night from mundane cares (1.6.2–3). **οὐχ ἵνα . . . φέρωσι:** Cl. now slips into theoretical mode. Prognostication helps us not to escape fate but better to deal with it. His argument responds to an unstated objection: if the future is fixed, what good is it to us that gods give us glimpses of foreknowledge? See e.g. Luc. *Jup. conf.* 12–14 (with Größlein 1998: 61–3 on the wider philosophical context). εἱμαρμένη ('destiny') strikes a Stoic, technical-sounding note (although the word can be used non-philosophically: cf. 4.13.5, Xen. Eph. 1.10.2 etc.). The idea that fate is fixed and insuperable, however, was a commonplace in popular culture (e.g. Theocr. 24.69–70, with Gow 1950 *ad loc.*); and the idea that foreknowledge may help alleviate the impact of suffering is also traditional, going back at least to the fifth century (Euripides fr. 964 *TGrF*); it may derive from the sophist Antiphon of Rhamnus (Kerferd 1981: 51); on the history of this theme see Liatsi 2003. Cl.'s *sententia* is borrowed at Hld. 2.24.6–7.

1.3.3 τὸ . . . ἀθρόον . . . ἐκπλήσσει τὴν ψυχὴν . . . καὶ κατεβάπτισε: sudden shocks 'stun and submerge' the soul. The aor. κατεβάπτισε is gnomic, and indistinguishable in terms of meaning from the pres. tense (Smyth §1931), so that the switch of tense is not felt as a jolt. ἔκπληξις is the effect of massive emotional, sensory or aesthetic overload, which disables one's rational capacities and leaves one (usually) speechless and immobile: cf. 1.4.5 and 3.15.5–6. Metaphors of psychological submerging are found elsewhere in *L&C* (1.6.3, 3.10.1, 7.2.1), and may derive from a physiological understanding of the effect of liquid on the rational faculties (cf. 4.10.1, where L.'s temporary madness is explained in terms of youthful blood flooding the inside of the head, a passage connected by McLeod 1969 with the teachings of Erasistratus). For such theories see e.g. Hipp. *de Morb. Sacr.* 14 and in general Wright 2016: 53–72. **προκατηνάλωσε . . . τοῦ πάθους τὴν ἀκμήν** 'dissipates in advance the emotional peak thanks to gradual practice', an awkward, bombastic mixed metaphor. **εἶχον ἔνατον ἔτος ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα** 'I was in my nineteenth year'. Numbers in the teens are commonly expressed periphrastically in Greek of the imperial period. ἔχω + ordinal number + ἔτος is a standard post-classical construction indicating age (the classical γίγνομαι/εἰμί + cardinal number + ἐτῶν survives too). **παρεσκεύαζεν:** the regular construction is ὡς + fut. part. (as at 2.18.1), but ὡς is omitted already in classical prose (LSJ παρασκευάζω B.II.2). **εἰς νέωτα** 'next year'. **ἤρχετο τοῦ δράματος ἡ Τύχη:** Cl. self-reflexively marks the opening of the narrative proper, the shift from background preamble to the events of the plot. The central role given to Τύχη in the management of the plot is perhaps a nod to Char., whose narrator ascribes a number of events to her intervention (Char. 2.8.4, 3.3.8, 4.5.3, 6.8.1, 8.1.2; particularly close is 4.4.2: ἡ φιλόκαινος Τύχη δρᾶμα σκυθρωπὸν ὑμῖν περιτέθεικε). In general Cl. thinks of Τύχη as an oppressively capricious force (1.13.6n., and cf. 6.3.1). δρᾶμα is in the first instance a 'story', but also offers a reminder of the dramatic significance of the goddess Τύχη in New Comedy (Intro. 4(a)), and a hint of self-reflexivity about the literary nature of the story we are reading.

1.3.4 ὄναρ . . . τὰ ἄνω σώματα 'I had a dream in which the lower parts of my body seemed to be naturally joined together with the girl's, below the navel, but from there up our upper bodies were separate'. The phenomenon of conjoined ('Siamese') twins was noted by Aristotle (*Gen. An.* 773a; see further Laios 2015). Perhaps such 'prodigies' will have been encountered on display for entertainment in the houses of wealthy Romans (for the 'market for prodigies' at Rome see Plut. *Mor.* 520c; Trentin 2011: 197–9). **ἐφίσταται . . . μοι γυνὴ φοβερὰ καὶ μεγάλη:** ἐφίστημι is the regular word for dream apparitions, reflecting the belief that they 'stand over the head'

of the dreamer (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 4.803, 6.21, 20.32). Suggestions for the identity of this dream-figure have been either unconvincing (Merkelbach 1962: 116 proposes Isis, Bartsch 1989: 86 Fate, Yatromanolakis 1990: 575 a gorgon) or inconclusive. Enormous, snake-haired, weapon-wielding women form part of the standard repertoire of bogeys for Greek men (cf. e.g. Luc. *Philops.* 22), but in view of the tragic overtones, the iconographic features she shares with a Fury are particularly suggestive (cf. esp. Eur. *Or.* 256 for bloodshot eyes and snaky hair, with Willink 1986 *ad loc.* for further parallels; see *LIMC* 'Erinys' for examples in the visual sphere of snaky-haired deities wielding weapons, including torches but not scythes). The itemising of the dream-figure's facial characteristics (eyes, cheeks, hair), meanwhile, presents her as a monstrous *Doppelgänger* of L. herself (cf. 1.4.3). The description borrows from Habrocomes' dream near the start of Xen. Eph.'s romance (ἐφίσταται γυνὴ ὀφθῆναι φοβερά, τὸ μέγεθος ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, *A&H* 1.12.4). **ἐν αἵματι** 'bloodshot'. **ἅρπην:** given the importance of verbal puns to dream interpretation (recognised in antiquity: Geer 1927: 667–8), the sickle could be read as a disguised allusion to Calligone's impending abduction (ἁρπαγή). **ἐκράτει** + acc. 'she wielded' (1.1.13n.). **θυμῶι** 'with passion', dat. of accompanying circumstance (Smyth §1527). **καταφέρει τῆς ἰξύος** 'brought it down on my loins'. **τῶν δύο σωμάτων . . . αἱ συμβολαί** 'the meeting-point of the two bodies'. **ἀποκόπτει μου τὴν παρθένον** 'cut the maiden away from me', with a suggestion of castration (1.3–4n.).

1.3.5 περιδεὴς . . . ἀναθορὼν ἐκ τοῦ δείματος: perhaps alluding to Hdt. 7.15.1: 'Xerxes was terrified (περιδεής) at the dream and leapt up out of his bed (ἀνά τε ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης)'. **ἐν . . . τούτωι** 'at this point' (as distinct from the classical usage = 'meanwhile'). **τοιάδε** = τάδε ('the following events'). **παρὰ τούτου τις ἔρχεται κομίζων ἐπιστολήν:** letters are common in the Greek novels. Sometimes, as here, they are a narrative expedient to allow communication across distances, and artfully to introduce the reader to important details (in this case the names Pantheia and L.); sometimes they serve as private communication between real or would-be lovers (cf. 5.18.2–6; 5.20.5; Rosenmeyer 2001: 133–68; Repath 2013). The messenger (τις . . . κομίζων) seems not to have travelled with the seafarers: he would have been a slave or hired courier, who in A.'s own time could have travelled from Byzantium to Tyre along the network of imperially maintained roads that ran through Anatolia.

1.3.6 Ἱππίαι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν Σώστρατος 'Sostratus sends greetings to his brother Hippias'. The χαίρειν formula at the start of letters (with ellipsis of κελεύω/-ει *vel sim.*) is regular. **πόλεμος . . . περιελαύνει Βυζαντίους**

Θραικικός: 'Since Thrace encompasses [the Byzantines'] territory so effectually as to extend from one sea to the other, [the Byzantines] are engaged in perpetual and most difficult warfare with [Thrace's] inhabitants' (Polyb. 4.45.1). **τύχης** 'outcome'.

1.4.1 εἴποντο . . . πολὺ πλῆθος οἰκετῶν καὶ θεραπαινίδων, ἅς . . . : ἅς covers both the female and the male slaves; the fem. is the result of attraction to the gender of θεραπαινίδων. The reading εἴποντο is defended by Conca 1995: 133. **τῆι στολῆι:** dat. of respect (Intro. 4(d)).

1.4.2 ἐνέτεινα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κατ' αὐτήν 'I aimed my eyes at her' (the metaphor derives from archery). **ἐκφαίνεται** 'appeared', with a hint of divine epiphany. **καταστράπτει:** the language of thunder and lightning is commonly used to express the overwhelming experience of sublime spectacles: cf. κάλλος ἀστράπτον at 1.19.1, 2.1.2, 5.1.1.

1.4.3 τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγώ ποτε ἐπὶ ταύρωι γεγραμμένην Σελήνην 'she looked like a picture I had once seen of Selene on a bull' (lit. 'I once saw Selene depicted in this way on a bull'). Cl. cannot be reminiscing to the frame-narrator about their recent experiences in the Temple of Astarte at Sidon: εἶδον . . . ποτε means 'I once saw', not 'we recently saw'. Even so, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that A. is mischievously teasing his readers, dropping hints about possible connections between the two paintings (see further Intro. 6(c)). Textual confusion adds to the mystery: three MSS transmit Εὐρώπην instead of Σελήνην. Most scholars prefer the latter, on the grounds that corruption from Σελήνην to Εὐρώπην is easier to imagine than the converse (the principle of preferring the *lectio difficilior*: see most recently Cueva 2006). The comparison of beautiful women to artworks is a cliché (Jax 1936; cf. e.g. Callirhoe as ἄγαλμα at Char. 1.1.1, and Lucian's *Portraits passim*). For the phrasing cf. 6.1.3 (τοιοῦτον Ἀχιλλέα ποτ' ἐθεασάμην ἐν γραφῆι). **ὄμμα . . . χείλη:** more verbless sentences, recalling the descriptions of Sidon (1.1.1), the maidens (1.1.7), Europa (1.1.10–11) and the dream-figure (1.3.4). Europa is described in terms of her clothing and body but not her face; L. is the exact opposite. The pictorial catalogue of facial features (eyes, hair, eyebrows, cheeks, mouth) is familiar from erotic poetry (cf. *Anacreontea* 16–17 West); but it also recalls and extends that used for the dream-figure (eyes, cheeks, hair) at 1.3.4. The dream-figure therefore emerges retrospectively as (among other things) a distorted representation of L. herself, whose arrival marks the beginning of Cl.'s separation from Calligone. **ὄμμα . . . ξανθή:** borrowed from Xen. Eph. 3.3.5 (κόμη ξανθή, χαρίεντες ὀφθαλμοί). ξανθός (the hair-colour of a number of Homeric heroes) covers a spectrum of shades

from light brown to blond. **ἐν ἡδονῇι** 'attractively' (cf. ἐν αἵματι = 'bloodshot', 1.3.4). **λευκή:** the whiteness of L.'s face hints at her name (given at 1.3.6). In *L&C*, as is usual in Greek literature, λευκός marks not ethnicity but the beauty of aristocratic women (cf. 3.7.4). **τὸ λευκὸν . . . Λυδίη βάπτει γυνή** 'the whiteness grew red towards the centre, mimicking the purple dye of the kind with which a Lydian woman dyes ivory'. ἐφοινίσσετο suggests blushing, a conventional sign, in the novels as elsewhere, of virtuous modesty in young women (Lateiner 1998; de Temmerman 2007). It may also hint at Φοῖνιξ = 'Phoenician', particularly in proximity to πορφύραν, which suggests the famous murex dye farmed by local fishers (2.11.4–8n.). The woman staining ivory alludes to Hom. *Il.* 4.141–2, a passage beloved of imperial authors (Plut. *Mor.* 393c; Luc. *Imag.* 8; Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 40.2; Trypho *On Figures* p. 200 *RG* Spengel; Hld. 10.15.2), in which the effect of the bloody wound on Menelaus' leg is described with a simile: 'as when a Maeonian or Carian woman stains ivory (ἐλέφαντα) with purple (φοίνικι) to be the cheek-piece for horses'. A.'s appropriation of the simile is dexterous: the 'cheek-piece' (παρήϊον) in the vehicle (or *comparatum*) of the Iliadic simile has been transformed into the 'cheek' (παρειά) in the tenor (or *comparandum*). ἐμιμεῖτο, which at the surface level means 'resembled', may also be read as a discreet pointer towards the act of Homeric *mimēsis* undertaken in the simile (Intro. 4(a)). The transmitted οἵαν εἰς τὸν ἐλέφαντα Λυδίη βάπτει is impossible, since (i) one does not dip dye into ivory; (ii) elsewhere A. uses the instrumental dat. with βάπτειν (2.11.4, 3.7.3; O'Sullivan 1978: 314–15); (iii) τόν is odd. Emendation of οἵαν to οἵαι seems inevitable, but no clear-cut alternative to εἰς τόν presents itself. One possibility is πριστόν: cf. *Od.* 18.196, where Athena renders Penelope's skin λευκοτέρην . . . πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος (similarly 19.564). A.'s younger contemporary Lucian compares a woman's teeth to ἐλέφαντι τῶι πριστῶι (*Imag.* 9). The Ionic form Λυδίη – perhaps a pointer to the Homeric origin of the simile – is the majority reading of the MSS. **τὸ στόμα ῥόδων ἄνθος ἦν** 'her mouth was a rose in bloom', lit. '. . . the flowering of roses'. Cl. fantasises about seeing roses in L.'s face at 1.19.1 and 2.1.3 (see nn. *ad loc.* and Intro. 5(b) on the flower theme). Here the references to first blooming suggest L.'s nubility and (in Cl.'s eyes) sexual availability. **ἀνοίγειν:** on the 'opening and closing' theme see Intro. 5(a).

1.4.4 ὡς δὲ εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλειν: the 'love at first sight' *topos*, twisted to include violent imagery. ὡς δὲ εἶδον evokes the 'deception of Zeus' in the *Iliad* ('as soon as he saw her (ὡς δ' ἴδεν), *erōs* shrouded his compact wits', *Il.* 14.294; cf. Sapph. 31.7–8, Theocr. 2.82; Alperowitz 1992: 111). ἀπωλώλειν (first-person pluperf. indic. act. with aor. sense) is morphologically regular for later Greek (Intro. 4(d)). **κάλλος . . . ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους:** another

sententia. The metaphor is rooted in the conventional imagery of Eros as an archer (cf. 1.1.13, 2.4.5, 2.5.2), but there may be a more precise allusion to Pl. *Phdr.* 250d (sight is the 'sharpest' of the bodily senses). Char.'s Chaereas similarly experiences love at first sight as a wound (τραύματος, 1.1.7; cf. 8.5.6). **διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ:** the first in a series of philosophical speculations on the nature of vision and the eye (cf. 1.9.4–5n., 5.13.4; cf. Xen. Eph. 1.3.2). The idea that human vision arises from the flux of particles emitted by the object and entering the eye is drawn primarily from the materialist philosophy of Democritus and Epicurus (on which see Rudolph 2011), although A.'s language is Platonic (*Phaedr.* 251b; 1.9.4n.; see Intro. 6(b)). At Pl. *Crat.* 420b Socrates derives ἔρως from εἰσρεῖν, on the grounds that it 'flows in' from the outside, through the eyes. **ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῶι τραύματι:** an awkward metaphor that mixes wounding and flux (as at 2.7.6), though it might be argued that ὁδός here means nothing more than the 'point of entry' of the puncture.

1.4.5 πάντα δέ με εἶχεν . . . ἀναίδεια: on the 'mixed emotions' *topos* see 1.1.7n.; this is a more flamboyant example, in both length and contradictoriness. **ἔπαινος** 'admiration'. **ἔκπληξις:** Cl. experiences infatuation as sublimity (1.3.3n.). **ἐπήινουν . . . ἁλῶναι:** elegant stylistic repetition with variation in the Gorgianic manner (Intro. 4(d)). All clauses contain two elements, and open with a first-person verb that begins with ἐ (or ἠ) and ends in *ν*; in the first two, the verbs are followed by a direct object, the article + neut. noun ending in -ος; in the third, however, the noun is an acc. of respect; and the fourth and fifth are arranged chiastically, with the αιδ- root words (an advb. and a verb) occupying the central positions. **τοὺς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς . . . ἐνίκησαν:** Cl. treats his eyes as autonomous agents, independent of his will (cf. 5.1.5). **ἀφέλκειν . . . ἐβιαζόμην . . . οὐκ ἤθελον . . . ἀνθεῖλκον . . . ἑλκόμενοι:** the language of violent coercion is notable. Cl. understands erotic attraction, channelled through the eyes, as a process of forceful compulsion (much as Gorgias presents it in his *Encomium of Helen* (= D24 L–M)). **τῆς κόρης:** κόρη will turn out to be Cl.'s usual designation of L. (1.5.3, 1.6.5, 1.11.2 etc.), a usage common also in erotic epigram and paralleled by the Latin elegiac *puella* (cf. mod. Greek κορίτσι). In Book 2 she is sometimes called ἡ παῖς (2.7.1n.). **ἐκεῖ** = ἐκεῖσε. **τῶι τοῦ κάλλους ἑλκόμενοι πείσματι:** a play on words, a πεῖσμα being both an act of persuasion (or seduction) and a cable such as one might use to 'tow' (ἕλκειν) a ship.

1.5–6: Meals and lodging

The reader is introduced to the domestic arrangements in Hippias' house (Intro. 5(a)). The women's and the men's sleeping quarters are

segregated, but eating and drinking take place collectively. The tension between Cl.'s growing desire and the limitations imposed by segregation cause Cl. much anguish. This section contains the first of three symposia that take place in Hippias' house (cf. 2.2–3, 2.9). These have traditional Greek features, notably the dual-occupancy couches (1.5.1), the practice of resting on the elbow (1.5.3) and the presence of song and kithara-playing (1.5.4–5). In at least two respects, however, they suggest the influence of the Roman *conuiuium*. First, elite Greek women, unlike their Roman counterparts, did not usually drink with their husbands (for this contrast see Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.66). Second, although Cl. refers to the event as a symposium (συνέπινομεν, 1.5.1), the drinking and the eating seem to be combined into a single event (1.5.3–4; in the two later episodes only drinking is mentioned, but both are described variously as a πότος (2.3.3, 2.9.1) and a δεῖπνον (2.2.1, 2.3.1, 2.10.1)). The combination of dining, song and covert activity creates a general analogy with the banquet held by Alcinous in *Odyssey* 8. The pair of kithara tunes played by an unnamed slave, the second of which is accompanied by a song (1.5.4–5), thus distantly recalls Demodocus' performance in the *Odyssey*. This pair will later be mirrored at 2.1 by L.'s two kithara-accompanied songs (see esp. 2.1.2–3n. on the verbal correspondences between the two).

1.5.1 Αἱ μὲν δὴ κατήγοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς 'So, the female guests took up residence in the house'. Since male slaves are mentioned at 1.4.1 we might expect οἱ μέν – but slaves do not count. μέν here is *solitarium*, i.e. with no corresponding particle (Denniston 380–4). The effect is to mark a general narrative transition from the arrival of the women (summarised in the αἱ μέν clause) to the subsequent events within the household (καὶ αὐταῖς . . .). In view of the imperf. tense and πρὸς ἡμᾶς, it is best to take κατήγοντο to refer to taking up residence in the house (cf. καταγωγήν, 2.19.4; i.e. rather than to disembarking from the boat or coming inland from the shore). For κατάγομαι + preposition of motion towards = 'go to stay with x' cf. Dem. 49.22, Plut. *Mor.* 773e. **εὐτρεπίζει** 'prepared' (presumably by giving orders, rather than with his own hands). **συνεπίνομεν κατὰ δύο τὰς κλίνας διαλαχόντες** 'our symposium began, with two participants allotted to each couch'. **οὕτω . . . ἔταξεν ὁ πατήρ:** on the arrangement see Intro. 5(a). **αἱ μητέρες:** i.e. L.'s and Calligone's (Cl.'s biological mother being dead: 1.3.2). Cl. will again refer to his stepmother as 'my mother' at 2.16.1.

1.5.2 ταύτην . . . τὴν εὐταξίαν: ironic. Hippias' act of ordering (ἔταξεν, 1.5.1) was intended as a display of patriarchal power, but Cl. praises the seating plan for a different reason. **μικροῦ** 'all but', 'practically'

(adverbial: LSJ μικρός III.2). A. adapts Men. *Dysc.* 687–8: μικροῦ τὴν κόρην / ἐφίλουν προσιών. **προσελθών** 'go up to', found very commonly in A. in conjunction with other verbs indicating personal interaction.

1.5.3 μέν: probably not *solitarium* (1.5.1n.), but rather answered by ὡς δέ at 1.5.4. μέν thus unifies all the reverie of 1.5.3, before the slave enters to change the atmosphere. **ἐώικειν . . . τοῖς ἐν ὀνείροις ἐσθίουσιν:** i.e. though he is eating, Cl. is dissociated from his sensations. A similar but slightly different idiom appears at 5.13.5: Melite says to Cl. (who cannot face his food), ἔοικας τοῖς ἐν γραφαῖς ἐσθίουσιν. **ὅλοις . . . τοῖς προσώποις** 'with all my gaze', a metonymic extension (prompted by the ωπ- root) of πρόσωπον = 'face'. The plur. πρόσωπα is common in *L&C* (O'Sullivan πρόσωπον 1 (a) (β); cf. 2.7.3), perhaps a Homeric touch (cf. *Il.* 7.212, *Od.* 18.192). A. echoes Xen. Eph. 1.3.2, where Anthia receives Habrocomes' beauty 'with all the gaping of her eyes' (ὅλοις . . . ἀναπεπταμένοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς). **κλέπτων ἅμα τὴν θέαν** 'all the while concealing the fact that I was looking' (not Eng. 'stealing a look', which suggests a momentary glance): here as elsewhere (2.7.5, 3.10.1, etc.; cf. ὁ γὰρ μετὰ κλοπῆς ἐρῶν, 2.4.1) A. uses κλέπτειν in a sense close to καλύπτειν, an assimilation found already in classical Greek (LSJ κλέπτω III); the two were sometimes said to be etymologically connected (ps.-Zonaras, *Suda* and *Et. Magn.* κλὲπτης; Σ Ar. *Plut.* 27 etc.). **ἅμα** is adverbial, as so often in this era (Papanikolaou 1973: 111–12). **τοῦτο . . . μου τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν:** the analogy between the consumption of food and erotic gazing is a prominent theme of this episode (cf. 1.6.1); later, Melite will turn it back upon Cl. (5.13.5). The word order of G, adopted here, avoids the hiatus μου ἦν.

1.5.4 ἦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου 'we were done with dinner', a post-classical colloquialism (cf. Ael. *VH* 12.1, *DNA* 13.19, 17.5; Intro. 4(d)). On ἀπό = 'after' see *GLRBP* ἀπό 4. **παῖς ἔρχεται κιθάραν ἁρμοσάμενος, τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκέτης:** παῖς is used of male slaves of any age. παῖς . . . οἰκέτης may seem pleonastic, and so the variant παρέρχεται (G) for παῖς ἔρχεται has a prima facie attractiveness; but the majority reading is paralleled at 1.12.1. **κιθάραν:** the lyre, consisting of seven or more strings of different thickness stretched over a sound-box, was the Greeks' favourite musical instrument, particularly as an accompaniment to the human voice. Citharodes who sang to this instrument, either (as here) slaves or free performers in public competitions, were highly valued (Power 2010). **ἁρμοσάμενος** 'having tuned'. **ψιλαῖς . . . ἔκρουε** 'at first plucked the strings (τὰς χορδάς) by playing them separately (διατινάξας) using his fingers alone', i.e. he finger-picks at first, before later turning to use the plectrum. διατινάσσω indicates the plucking of separate strings, as in 'finger-picking' guitar-playing (whereas the plectrum is

used for chords). **τι κρουμάτιον . . . τοῖς δακτύλοις** 'after picking out a gentle little ditty with whispering fingers'. The repetition of the ὑπο- prefix, combined with the diminutive κρουμάτιον, suggests a subtle, understated performance. **ὑπολιγήνας:** the λιγ- root indicates a clear, sonorous, high-pitched sound. The compound is a *hapax* in ancient Greek. **τῶι πλήκτρωι:** as with modern mandolins, banjos, ukuleles and guitars, a plectrum (in antiquity made of wood, metal or horn) allowed the citharode to play strings or chords percussively. **ὀλίγον ὅσον κιθαρίσας συνῆιδε τοῖς κρούμασι** 'played a rather short piece on the lyre and sang along to his strumming'. **ὅσον** ('rather', 'somewhat') modifies ὀλίγον adverbially.

1.5.5 Ἀπόλλων . . . τὸ φυτὸν στεφανούμενος: the story of Apollo's attempted rape of Daphne, and her metamorphosis into the laurel-tree. The tale contributes to the undercurrent of sexual violence that pervades *L&C* (Intro. 6(a)). The myth was widely circulated in literature (*SH* 380; Parth. *Amat. Narr.* 15; ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.9, Paus. 10.7.8, Nonn. *Dion.* 42.387–90, etc.) and art across the Greek-speaking world from the third century BCE onwards (*BNP* 'Daphne'). Different versions were found in different regions, and made Daphne variously a king's daughter and a nymph. Although there are no localising details here, the aetiological emphasis on Apollo's adoption of the laurel crown may suggest that A. is following Ovid (*Met.* 1.416–566, with 556–66 on the aetiology; see Intro. 4(a) on A.'s possible knowledge of Ovid), who sets the myth in Thessaly. No particularly canonical treatment of the subject in Greek is known from prior to A.'s time (Paus. 8.20–1 refers to local song traditions). **ἡ κόρη:** 1.4.5n. **τὸ φυτὸν στεφανούμενος:** the verb is found only here with an acc. of the object with which one is crowned; some have therefore proposed deleting τὸ φυτόν (Vilborg 1962: 23).

1.5.6 ὑπέκκαυμα . . . ἐπιθυμίας λόγος ἐρωτικός 'an erotic story is fuel for the appetite', a sententious apophthegm (Intro. 4(b)) with an obviously self-reflexive tinge in the context of an erotic romance. A. is probably borrowing from Men. fr. 178 *PCG*: 'for many, music is the fuel of love (ὑπέκκαυμ' . . . ἔρωτος)' (cf. also Philodemus, *De musica* 4 = fr. 43.35–7 Delattre; also Xen. *Symp.* 4.25, Plut. *Mor.* 31c). Moralists since Plato had worried about the stimulating effects of literature on the emotions, particularly those of the young. Cl. might be thought to invert the lesson of such passages as *Rep.* 3.390a–c, where Socrates warns about the dangerous effects of stories of desirous gods: in this case, erotic calefaction is taken as a positive incitement to action. **τῶι παραδείγματι πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν ἐρεθίζεται** 'he is provoked by the example to imitate it'. παράδειγμα and μίμησις are terms drawn from the moralising realm of ancient literary

criticism, where literature is seen to offer exemplars of ethical behaviour for readers to emulate: see e.g. Duff 1999: 37–45. Unlike the moralists, Cl. uses the literary exemplar to exhort himself to abandon his erotic self-control. **ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος ᾖι τὸ παράδειγμα** 'when the exemplar derives from divinity'. τὸ κρεῖττον is a synonym for τὸ θεῖον, but the force of the comparative adj. ('the greater power') is in play too: gods are more powerful than humans, and so *a fortiori* divine actions are exemplary for humans (cf. τοῦ βελτίονος in the following sentence and κρείττων at 1.5.7). Like English, Greek can say 'x is from y' meaning 'x hails or derives from y' (particularly common in Thucydides: 1.25.2, 2.99.3, 3.104.5 etc.). **ἡ . . . ὧν ἁμαρτάνει τις αἰδώς:** the objective gen. ὧν (= τούτων ἅ) is dependent on ἡ . . . αἰδώς (i.e. 'shame at . . .'). **τῶι τοῦ βελτίονος ἀξιώματι παρρησία γίνεται:** a difficult phrase, which could mean either (i) 'is converted into permissiveness (LSJ παρρησία 3) thanks to the high station of one's superior', i.e. mortals reason that the divine exemplar legitimises their own indulgence; or (ii) 'turns into effrontery (LSJ παρρησία 2) towards the rank of a superior', i.e. any hesitation begins to look like an insult to the god. (ii) rests on a more natural rendering of παρρησία, avoids the instrumental dat. after γίγνομαι (not impossible but rare and ungainly), and offers a better transition to the following sentence where Cl. accuses himself of insulting the god (1.5.7n.). The dat. following παρρησία is, however, itself not straightforward (εἰς or πρός + acc. is the usual construction).

1.5.7 καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἔλεγον: Cl.'s first philosophical self-address (Intro. 6(b)). **ἰδοὺ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐρᾶι:** Cl. draws a moral from the myth, just as the narrator did on contemplating the painting of Europa at 1.2.1; in both cases, the conclusion is that gods feel desire like humans. ἰδού, like the Eng. 'see!', directs an addressee towards a particular conclusion (cf. ὁρᾶς in the *epimythion* to Conops' fable at 2.21.4). **σὺ δὲ ὀκνεῖς καὶ αἰδῆι καὶ ἀκαίρως σωφρονεῖς:** Cl. urges himself to renounce precisely the characteristics that define Char.'s virtuous protagonists (for Callirhoe's αἰδώς see Char. 1.1.8, 1.1.14, etc.; for Chaereas' see 1.1.7, 8.7.4; for Callirhoe's σωφροσύνη see 1.14.10, 5.6.7, 6.4.10 etc.; for Chaereas' see 7.4.9, 7.6.12). **μὴ κρείττων εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ;** 'Surely you are not more powerful than the god?' μή + indic. can indicate 'doubtful assertion' (Smyth §1772). On κρείττων see 1.5.6n. Cl. exhorts himself to follow his desires, by warning himself against offending gods by presenting himself as their superior. Cf. Char. 2.4.5 (Eros 'considered Dionysius' self-control (σωφροσύνην) an affront (ὕβριν)'); Xen. Eph. 1.2.1).

1.6.1 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι . . . τὴν ἡδονήν: this conceit is first attested at Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 2.1, but A. no doubt alludes to a much-imitated passage in Demosthenes' *On the Crown*: sympathisers with Philip 'measure their

happiness by their bellies and their most disgraceful parts' (296; allusions at ps-Long. *De subl.* 32.2.3, Plut. *Mor.* 97d, Theon *Progymnasmata* = *RG* Spengel 2.107). The main verb is supplied from πρὸς ὕπνον ἐτράπησαν. **τῶν . . . προσώπων . . . γεμισθείς** 'stuffed with (the image of) her face', as if it were food. **κόρης . . . κόρου:** a deft play on words. **ἀκράτωι θεάματι καὶ μέχρι κόρου προελθών** 'having proceeded in my undiluted gazing to the very point of satiety'. ἀκράτωι θεάματι assimilates the effects of erotic viewing to those of neat alcohol (cf. 2.3.3 for the parallelism between drink and love). **μεθύων ἔρωτι:** a quotation from Anacreon (fr. 31.2 *PMG*), popular in A.'s era (Opp. *Hal.* 5.603; Philostr. *Imag.* 1.15.2).

1.6.2 τὸ δωμάτιον . . . ἔνθα μοι καθεύδειν ἔθος ἦν: not a 'bedroom', which suggests a greater personalisation of domestic space than was customary in the Greek world (Nevett 1999: 37). **οὐδὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖν ἠδυνάμην:** sleeplessness is a well-established symptom of love (Pl. *Phaed.* 251d–e, Ap. Rh. 3.751, *Anth. Pal.* 5.166, Long. 2.8 etc.; see also below, 1.7.3). οὐδέ = οὐδαμῶς (*BDAG* οὐδέ 2). On the double augmentation of the aor. of δύναμαι see Intro. 4(d). **ἔστι μὲν γάρ κτλ.:** another elaborate, pseudo-scientific *gnōmē* like the explanation of prophetic dreams (1.3.2n.). Xen. Eph. similarly has the lovers suffering more when they are alone at night (1.4.1; cf. Char. 6.7.1). Hld. (1.8.1) and Nonnus (*Dion.* 33.264–5) allude to this passage. μέν is answered by δέ at 1.6.3: the contrast is between the intense pain generated at night by bodily pains and the *even more intense* pains of the soul. **καὶ τὰ ἄλλα . . . τραύματα** 'physical wounds, like all ailments', i.e. ἄλλος is inclusive (1.2.1n.).

1.6.3 σχολάζει τὸ ἕλκος νοσεῖν 'the wound has the leisure to suffer'. **μὴ κινουμένου:** temporal (Classical Greek would use οὐ). **ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα . . . γεμιζόμενα:** γεμιζόμενα has been attracted into the case of the neut. ὦτα, to which it is syntactically closer (cf. 1.4.1n.). γεμίζω revives the analogy between food and psychological effects (cf. 1.6.1). **περιεργίας** 'distraction'. **ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀκμήν** 'lightens the sharpness of the pain', another mixed metaphor. **ἀντιπεριάγοντα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς** 'dragging the soul around so as to counteract any opportunity to suffer'. ἀντιπεριάγοντα governs both τὴν ψυχήν (direct object) and τῆς . . . σχολῆς (the gen. is dependent on ἀντι-). During the day, the sensory stimuli encountered by the soul occupy it and do not give it the opportunity to indulge its suffering. **ἡσυχίαι . . . πεδηθῆι** 'is shackled by calm', a strikingly paradoxical metaphor. **τῶι κακῶι κυμαίνεται** 'is churned up by the misfortune'. The marine metaphor picks up earlier references to the 'submerging' of the soul (1.3.3, with n.); both may suggest a psychic model in which the rational parts of the soul are solid and the emotional influences liquid.

1.6.4 ἐξεγείρεται . . . κοιμώμενα: another paradox (anxieties sleep by day, to be awakened at bedtime). **τοῖς πενθοῦσιν . . . τὸ πῦρ:** an elegant, asyndetic catalogue, with each element in the list identical in format. **μόλις ἐλεήσας μέ τις ὕπνος ἀνέπαυσεν ὀλίγον** 'A fitful (τις) sleep pitied me grudgingly and gave me a short respite'. τις modifying a noun adjectivally = 'a kind of', an Achillean tic: cf. 1.8.8, 1.9.4, 1.17.2, 2.37.7 (and see 2.34.5n. on τίς).

1.6.5 πάντα . . . ἦν μοι Λευκίππη τὰ ἐνύπνια: dreaming of the beloved is a *topos* of erotic literature (e.g. Ap. Rh. 3.616–32, Char. 6.7.2, Dio Chr. 20.19–23). Philosophers and medical writers explained such projections of waking desires (ὀνειρωγμοί or ὀνειρώξεις) as the result of physical disturbances in the body (Winkler 1990: 92–3). **πλείονα εἶχον ἀγαθὰ τῆς ἡμέρας** 'I had more success than during the day', a euphemism. **ἀληθινόν:** usually 'real' as opposed to fake; here a 'realistic' illusion. **ἐλοιδορούμην . . . γλυκύν:** the slave who wakes him may be Satyrus (first named at 1.16.1), who – we later learn – shares Cl.'s quarters (2.23.6). A. echoes Hom. *Od.* 23.11–24, where Penelope upbraids the slave Eurycleia for awakening her ἐξ ὕπνου . . . ἡδέος (16–17).

1.6.6 ἐβάδιζον ἐξεπίτηδες: βαδίζειν suggests the refined strolling of the unhurried elite, an activity particularly appropriate to the *peripatos* area of a luxurious peristyle house (Intro. 5(a)). Behind the façade of cultivated leisureliness, however, Cl. is acting purposefully (ἐξεπίτηδες). **εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας** 'in the interior area of the house', i.e. in the *peripatos*, which the women's quarters border (Intro. 5(a)). **κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς κόρης** 'in full view of the girl' (for this sense of πρόσωπον see 1.5.3n.). Cl.'s tactic is not just to gawp at L. but also to ensure he is seen by her. **βιβλίον ἅμα κρατῶν** 'book in hand all the while'. The scene has an obviously self-referential dimension; some have speculated that the book must be an erotic novel of the kind that A.'s own readers are holding (Goldhill 1995: 70–1; Morales 2004: 78–9). Whatever its contents, the immediate point is rather that the book is a mere pretext, and in spite of any desire to impress L. with his intellectual prowess (cf. his disquisitions on desire in the natural world at 1.16–18) Cl. is a decidedly inattentive reader. **ἐγκεκυφώς** 'hunched over it' (from ἐγκύπτω), a display of scholarly absorption (the cue for a joke at Ar. *Nub.* 191). **τὸν δὲ ὀφθαλμὸν . . . ὑπείλιττον κάτωθεν** 'I would discreetly (ὑπ-) spin my eyes up from it'. ὑπελίττω appears only here in extant Greek literature. The lack of aspiration is Ionic, the -ττ- Attic. **εἰ . . . γενοίμην:** εἰ is in effect temporal ('whenever'); the indefinite construction (in historic sequence) explains the use of the opt. (Smyth §2414). **κατὰ τὰς θύρας** 'in front of her door'. **διαύλους**: a δίαυλος is literally a double flute

or pipe; metaphorically, it usually refers to an elliptically shaped race-track for chariots. Cl.'s route takes him around the rectangular circuit of the *peripatos*. **ἐποχετευσάμενος ἐκ τῆς θέας ἔρωτα** 'channeling desire from the sight', as one would water through a sluice. The phrase is modelled on Pl. *Phdr.* 251e. **σαφῶς:** a textual crux; O'Sullivan's οὕτως is perhaps the best solution. **ταῦτά μοι . . . ἐπυρσεύετο** 'my fires blazed in this way' (lit. 'these things blazed for me').

1.7–11: Clinias and Charicles

A new character is introduced, Cl.'s older cousin Clinias. Although he personally favours sex with males, he offers Cl. general principles relating to seduction, including that of women. As an *erōtodidaskalos* ('teacher of *erōs*') he plays a role comparable to that of Philetas in Long.'s *D&C* (2.3–7; cf. also Lycaenion's more hands-on instruction at 3.16–18); behind both figures lie a range of seduction manuals such as that attributed (perhaps pseudonymously) to Philaenis of Samos (*P.Oxy.* 2891; Tsantsanoglou 1973). Clinias' advice overlaps at several points with that offered by Ovid in his *Ars amatoria* (Intro. 4(a)). His instruction is intended to help Cl. persuade an initially unwilling partner by a process of attrition: the assumption is that any female can be won over in time, given the right techniques. It is a challenging passage to read in the light of modern sexual ethics (Intro. 6(a)).

In the course of the romance, Clinias will become Cl.'s companion throughout his travels, playing the role of best friend that Polycharmus does in Char. and Hippothous in Xen. Eph. (Whitmarsh 2011: 206–10). The literary model of Xen.'s Hippothous is particularly important: he is, like Clinias, a lover of males, and indeed bereaved of his beloved (as Clinias will be soon). See Intro. 4(a). In both cases, the companion's preference for males seems to explain his ability to maintain emotional detachment from the main, 'heterosexual' romance (Whitmarsh 2011: 159–63). A. appears to allude specifically to Xen.'s story of the death of Hippothous and Hyperanthes (1.7.1n., 1.7.5n.). Clinias' boyfriend Charicles is introduced with notes of tragic foreboding right from the start (1.7.3n.), and Cl. hints at his impending death with a rare narratorial prolepsis (1.8.11n.). The announcement of Charicles' forthcoming marriage propels Clinias into a rhetorical invective against women, larded with literary quotations. The source for Clinias' arguments – which are not always relevant to the situation in hand (see nn.) – is presumably a compendium of anti-marriage arguments such as we find in the later *Anthology* of Stobaeus (IV 22; see also 1.8.1n. on second-century papyrological parallels). The contrary case, in favour of marriage, is made by

Cl. at 1.17–19 (see n. on the epithalamial flavour of this episode). Clinias thus emerges as the champion of same-sex love, whereas Cl. prefers girls (cf. 2.35–8). A. draws implicit parallels between Charicles' circumstances and those of Cl.: two young lovers who are to be forced by parents to marry against their will (for verbal echoes see 1.9.2n., 1.11.2n.).

1.7.1 νέος . . . μειρακίου δὲ ὁ ἔρως ἦν alludes to Xen. Eph. 3.2.1 (ἐκεῖ νέος ὢν ἠράσθην μειρακίου καλοῦ). The distinction between νέος and μειράκιον need not indicate any disparity of age. νέοι were young men between 20 and 30. A μειράκιον was typically younger, but the label is attested for youths up to the age of 23 (Sommerstein 2013: 185, contra Davidson 2007: 68–88). What the latter term marks primarily is post-adolescent youth combined with sexual desirability (often homoerotic). **δύο ἀναβεβηκὼς ἔτη τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς ἐμῆς:** i.e. Clinias is 21 (since Cl. is 19: 1.3.3). δύο ἀναβεβηκὼς ἔτη, literally 'having climbed up two years', is treated as a comparative (i.e. 'was two older'), hence the ensuing gen. **Ἔρωτι τετελεσμένος** 'initiated into the cult of Eros'. On such initiation metaphors see 1.2.2n. **οὕτω . . . εἶχε φιλοτιμίας** 'He was so full of zeal'. ἔχω + advb. + gen. = 'be in x state with respect to y' is a classical idiom (LSJ ἔχω B.ii.2.b) found relatively commonly in *L&C* (e.g. 1.10.3, 2.37.5 *bis*). **θεασάμενον τὸ μειράκιον ἐπήινεσεν** 'the youth had admired it at first sight'. **ἐχαρίσατο φέρων** 'he had given it to him as a present'. Clinias' upper-class values are dominated by the concept of χάρις, reciprocal gift-giving and obligation (cf. 1.9.4, 1.9.5, 1.10.3, 1.14.1–2). A horse is an expensive but appropriate gift for an elite boyfriend (Ar. *Plut.* 155–9, Petr. *Sat.* 86).

1.7.2 ἀμεριμνίας 'recklessness', a noun barely found before the imperial period (the adj. ἀμέριμνος is slightly commoner). **σχολάζει φιλεῖν** 'he devoted himself to love'. σχολάζω in this sense usually takes the dat. noun (or πρός + acc.) rather than the inf. verb. **δοῦλος . . . ἐρωτικῆς ἡδονῆς:** the motif of 'servitude to love', common in *L&C* (2.4.4, 2.6; Intro. 6(a), 6(c)), is found already in Plato (*Symp.* 184c), Xenophon (*Cyr.* 5.1.12) and the Hellenistic *Anacreontea* (19.9 West); but it is most prominent in Latin love elegy, to which A. may well have had access (Intro. 4(a); though Xen. Eph. 1.4.1 offers an example already within the romance tradition). **κεφαλὴν ἐπισείων:** probably a sad shake of the head from side to side (ἐπι- indicates merely that the gesture is intended for Cl.; it does not specify the direction of the physical movement). In modern Greece, a repeated sideways motion signals disagreement or reproach (on the value of such comparative evidence see Boegehold 1999: 20–1). **μοι** 'mark my words'. The 'ethic dat.' ('dat. of feeling': Smyth §1486) here strikes a note of condescension.

1.7.3 ἔδωκα . . . σοι δίκην τῶν σκωμμάτων: Cl. alliteratively acknowledges the well-known pattern whereby those who believe themselves superior to love end up succumbing to it. In Xen. Eph., this is the situation with Habrocomes at the start. A.'s primary model is Araspas in the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon of Athens: having 'laughed at' (ἀναγελάσας) Cyrus' earlier circumspection about seeing Pantheia (5.1.9), Araspas proceeds to fall for her so that Cyrus now 'laughs at' (ἀναγελάσας) him (6.1.34; cf. also Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* 12.23). Verbally, the closest parallel is Propertius 1.9: 'When you used to mock me, I used to say that Love would come to you and that your words would not be those of a free man for ever . . .' (1–2; see Intro 4(a) on A.'s possible use of Latin sources). **ἀνακροτήσας . . . τὰς χεῖρας:** a gesture of joy (Ar. *Plut.* 739, Xen. *Cyr.* 2.2.5, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.5.3 etc.) often as here accompanying an outburst of laughter. **ἐμφαῖνον** 'which showed signs of'. **ἀγρυπνίαν:** 1.6.2n. **ἄρτι . . . λέγοντος αὐτοῦ** 'while he was speaking'. ἄρτι + part. is usually constructed with historic tenses = 'immediately after x had happened': cf. 1.2.3, 2.18.1, 2.23.4 etc. Here, with the pres., it is the equivalent of μεταξύ (cf. 5.18.1, 7.6.1, 8.15.3). For the converse situation (μεταξύ + aor. part. = ἄρτι) see 1.13.1 with n. **εἰστρέχει:** εἰστρέχειν is used by A. in connection with characters who intervene suddenly and unexpectedly (1.12.1 with n., 2.23.3, 3.24.3 etc.). Apart from Charicles, all of these characters are slaves or anonymous. A. may have in mind the sudden appearance of a minor, news-bearing character onto the dramatic stage (cf. the *seruus currens* of Roman comedy). **οἴχομαί σοι** 'I am done for, I tell you' (ethic dat.: 1.7.2n.). οἴχομαι is tragic diction, favoured particularly by Euripides (*Med.* 226, *Hipp.* 878, *Hec.* 872 etc.). The maudlin lamentation seems at one level comically overblown – most elite Greek men could expect to marry at some point – but marriage would certainly mark the end of Charicles' status as Clinias' partner. The tragic diction marks the first in a series of gloomy intimations of the ultimate death of Charicles.

1.7.4 ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς κρεμάμενος 'as if his own life were dangling from that of Charicles'. Prior to A., this idiom is found only in the Septuagint (Gen. 44:30, Judith 8:24). **γάμον . . . ὁ πατήρ μοι προξενεῖ:** the reason for Charicles' dismay is revealed, namely an arranged marriage of the kind that Cl. too faces. A πρόξενος was a citizen of one state appointed by another to represent its interests to his fellow-citizens, as part of a system of interstate diplomacy that persisted into the Roman period, when it declined rapidly (Mack 2015: 233–81). The metaphor (Charicles' father is 'arranging' the marriage), depends on the idea that πρόξενοι are 'fixers'. **ἵνα . . . συνοικῶ:** ἵνα introduces a result clause (Intro. 4(d)). συνοικῶ might be either indic. (cf. ἐσπένδετο at 1.14.1) or – more likely –

subj. (cf. γήμω at 1.7.5, δεθῆις at 1.8.1). **διπλῶι . . . τῶι κακῶι**: misogyny varnished with stylistic flair (note the homoioteleuton) and erudition (the phrase, repeated soon afterwards, echoes Jason's words at Eur. *Med.* 1315). Hesiod presents Pandora as a 'beautiful evil' (καλὸν κακόν, Th. 585); Charicles' fiancée, by contrast, is not even καλή.

1.7.5 πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον . . . ἀποβλέπων: the marriage will be (as many ancient marriages were) arranged with regard to familial self-interest. The scenario is the same in Xen.'s story of Hippothous and Hyperanthes, although in that case it is to another male lover that Hyperanthes' impoverished father agrees to entrust his son (3.1.7). **σπουδάζει:** probably 'is pressing forward with' (cf. 2.11.1, where Hippias brings forward Cl.'s marriage to Calligone). At 1.8.10 we are told that the marriage is anticipated to take place in a few days' time. **τὸ κῆδος:** both 'connection by marriage' and 'woe', a source of much sardonic humour. **ἐκδίδομαι . . . πωλούμενος:** Charicles ends with a flamboyant rhetorical flourish, metaphorically conflating marriage and slavery. ἐκδίδομαι is an untranslatable pun: its meanings include both 'give away (usually a daughter) in marriage' (LSJ 2.a) – the ἔκδοσις is the formal transfer of a bride from her father's authority and home to those of her husband – and 'rent out (a slave) for work' (LSJ 3). As at 1.7.4, ἵνα introduces a result clause.

1.8.1 ὠχρίασεν: pallor signals any kind of debilitating emotion, from distress (as here) through embarrassment (2.6.1, with n.) to erotic infatuation (Long. 1.13.6, Hld. 3.5.6; see Lateiner 1998). **ἀποθέσθαι** 'put off', 'delay' (LSJ ἀποτίθημι II.4). Charicles' transition to full adulthood through marriage is ultimately inevitable, but it can be deferred. **τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν γένος λοιδορῶν:** the phrase γένος γυναικῶν first and most famously appears in Hesiod (*Th.* 590), where it introduces a misogynist tirade against the descendants of Pandora and the suffering that they foist upon the males who are forced to cohabit with them. The Hesiodic allusion (reinforced by the quotation from *Works and Days* below) implicitly connects Clinias' words with a tradition of literary λοιδορία ('abuse') against women (cf. esp. Juv. 6). A second-century papyrus compiling arguments for and against association with women illustrates the currency in A.'s era of such rhetorical misogyny (*P.Berol.* 9972–3; note γυναικεῖον γένος at 9772 col. II.12–13). Clinias' stance is implicitly linked to his preference for males, and it thus looks back to the elevation of 'pederasty' over marriage in Plato's *Symposium* (particularly in Pausanias' speech at 180c–185c). **ἵνα καὶ δεθῆις** 'that you should be cast into bondage' (result clause, with weakly adverbial καί). Clinias pursues Charicles' metaphor of marriage as enslavement.

1.8.2 οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ Διὸς λέγοντος 'have you not read the words of Zeus, to the effect that . . .' For ἀκούω = 'read' see Schenkeveld 1992. **τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἀντὶ πυρὸς δώσω . . . ἀμφαγαπῶντες:** after the fleeting references to Hesiod's *Theogony* (1.7.4n., 1.8.1n.) we get a direct quotation from the same author's *Works and Days* (57–8). Hesiod is thus coopted as the literary tradition's arch-misogynist. The lines mark the point where Zeus, in revenge for Prometheus' theft of fire for the benefit of humans, punishes them (τοῖς δ') by giving them an evil thing, Pandora, a source at once of erotic enchantment ('with which all men will take pleasure in their heart') and of woe. Clinias here begins an attack on female beauty – apparently a rehearsed one (cf. 2.35.2) – thereby missing one of the central points about Charicles' complaint, namely that the woman lined up for him is specifically *not* beautiful. **αὕτη γυναικῶν . . . Σειρήνων φύσει** 'such is the pleasure generated by women, which is like the nature of the Sirens', a slightly awkward sentence. Better sense would be yielded if we were to understand ἡδονῆι with τῆι, taking φύσει as a dat. of respect (for which cf. 1.4.1, 1.7.4, 1.13.4; Intro. 4(d)): '. . . which resembles in its nature that (i.e. the pleasure) generated by the Sirens'. It seems unlikely, however, that A. could have counted on his readers to disassociate τῆι from φύσει. Homer's Sirens (*Od.* 12.165–200) were often associated with the allurements of female sexuality: according to one theory, they were 'in reality' beautiful prostitutes who ruined sailors financially (Heraclitus, *De incredibilibus* 14; Serv. *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 5.864). **ἡδονῆι φονεύουσιν ὠιδῆς:** Homer never tells us how the Sirens kill their prey, but it is certainly not directly by means of the pleasures generated by their song (otherwise Odysseus himself would have died).

1.8.3 ἔστι . . . σοι συνιέναι . . . καὶ ἀπ' . . .: Clinias adopts the voice of the teacher, guiding his student from evidence to conclusion. ἔστι = ἔξεστι. **βόμβος αὐλῶν, δικλίδων κτύπος, πυρσῶν δαιδουχία:** constituent elements of the Greek wedding ceremony. The banging of doors was part of the general din raised outside the bridal chamber after the entry of the newly-weds (Hesych. *Lex.* κ 4329–30; cf. Long. 4.40.2); it was presumably intended to cover up any cries of pain during the act of defloration. **ἐρεῖ τις ἰδὼν τοσοῦτον κυδοιμόν**: an instance of the 'hypothetical witness' device, found from Homer onwards (de Jong, Nünlist and Bowie 2004, index 'hypothetical witness'). Clinias – who uses an elevated tone, which may come across as comically pretentious – uses this device three times in this speech (cf. 1.8.8 *bis*). The expression is mildly synaesthetic (κυδοιμός is normally associated with sound).

1.8.4 ἰδιώτης . . . μουσικῆς 'ignorant of culture'. ἰδιώτης is used in the imperial period as the opposite of πεπαιδευμένος, 'educated', which is often a disguised way of referring to the social elite (2.22.7n.; Schmitz 1997). **τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν δράματα** 'the (destructive) deeds of women'; δράματα also carries a theatrical undertone (cf. 1.3.3) appropriate to the tragic catalogue that follows. **νῦν δὲ κἂν ἄλλοις λέγοις . . .** 'but as things stand you could even instruct others . . .', i.e. your level of literary expertise is such that you could be a teacher. κἄν = καί + ἄν. **μύθων:** either the lying stories (cf. 1.2.2n.) told by the women or the dramatists' plots. Clinias begins with the deceptiveness of women, but soon slides into a more general denunciation of their destructiveness. ὅσων . . . μύθων = τοσούτους μύθους ὅσων.

1.8.4–8 ὅρμος Ἐριφύλης . . . κεφαλὴν γυνή: a catalogue of 'bad' mythical women, the narratives summarised tendentiously so as to support Clinias' misogynist case. The list falls into four sentences, stylistically unified but artfully varied, each reflecting a different category of destructive woman: (i) women who conspired against men and caused their downfall (Eriphyle, Philomela, Stheneboea, Aerope, Procne); (ii) women who caused trouble for men by inspiring passion in them (Chryseis, Briseis, Candaules' wife); (iii) Helen and Penelope, presented as the *causae belli* of the two Homeric epics; (iv) Phaedra, who killed Hippolytus because she loved him, and Clytemnestra, who killed Agamemnon because she did not. The examples in question have minimal relevance to Charicles' situation, at least as it stands at present. Most of these women appear canonically in tragedy; the *topos* of the list of destructive tragic women (also found in Latin love elegy, e.g. Ov. *Rem.* 55–68, *Ars Am.* 1.280–342 and esp. *Trist.* 2.381–408, where the tragic origin is stressed) perhaps originates in judgemental enumerations of Euripides' sexually active women (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1043, citing Euripides' Phaedra and Sthenoboea as 'prostitutes'). There are also echoes of Agamemnon's misogynist peroration at Hom. *Od.* 24.199–202, of Eur. *Hipp.* 616–68 (1.8.7n.) and of Pausanias' anti-'heterosexual' speech at Plato, *Symposium* 180c–185c (1.8.7n.). The euphonic phrasing throughout is notable, and underlines the impression of an off-the-peg rhetorical speech in the Gorgianic style (Intro. 4(b); see 2.35.2 for Cl.'s familiarity with Clinias' speeches κατὰ γυναικῶν). Although the hyperbole is comic, the tragic origin of the stories and their emphasis upon destruction represent yet more subtle pointers towards Charicles' death.

1.8.4 ὅρμος Ἐριφύλης . . . Πρόκνης ἡ σφαγή: Eriphyle was bribed with a necklace by Polynices to persuade her husband Amphiaraus to join the

expedition against Thebes; the story was told by Stesichorus (frr. 92–5 Finglass) and in now-lost stage versions by Sophocles (fr. 201 *TGrF*) and the Hellenistic tragedian Nicomachus (fr. 8 *TGrF*). Procne's husband Tereus raped her sister Philomela and cut out her tongue to prevent disclosure; she told Procne what had happened by weaving the story into a tapestry, and the sisters took revenge by killing Tereus' son Itys and serving him up to him (hence τράπεζα). The canonical tragic version came courtesy of Sophocles' *Tereus* (frr. 581–95 *TGrF*; cf. Apoll. *Bibl.* 3.193–5 and Ov. *Met.* 6.424–674). The story is also alluded to at 1.15.7, 5.3.4–8. Sthenebοea (called Antia by Homer: *Il.* 6.160) was the subject of Euripides' play of the same name (and may also have figured in the same poet's *Bellerophon*): when Bellerophon rejected her she exacted vengeance by claiming to her husband that Bellerophon had raped her. Aerope was the mother of Agamemnon and Menelaus. According to one tradition, she was the wife of Atreus; Thyestes seduced her so as to appropriate from her husband the golden lamb that betokened the kingship of Mycenae (Eur. *El.* 718–26). Another tradition, which goes back to the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, made her the wife of Plisthenes (Hes. frr. 194–5 M–W); in Euripides' *Cretan Women*, she is married off to him after her father attempted to have her killed for sleeping with a servant.

1.8.5 ἂν τὸ Χρυσηΐδος . . . Κανδαύλην ἡ γυνή: Clinias moves on to the destructive effect on men of their desire for women. Three instances are listed. The first two are drawn from the *Iliad*, and the phrasing is exactly parallel, and the names Chryseis and Briseis rhyme (thanks to iotacism, the phonetic development whereby υ, η, αι, and οι came to be pronounced identically to ι). The third example (drawn from Hdt. 1.8–12) displays *variatio*: ἐάν for ἄν, καλήν for κάλλος. **προξενεῖ** 'devises' (1.7.4n.).

1.8.6 τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλένης . . . πόσους νυμφίους ἀπώλεσεν; developing the theme of the destructiveness of male desire for women, Clinias offers a slanted reading of the two canonical epics of Homer. Helen was blamed for the male deaths at Troy from at least the sixth century onwards (Alcaeus 283 Voigt; Aesch. *Ag.* 1448–67), and arguably already in Homer (*Il.* 2.161–2; cf. 2.177–8). It was, however, usually Paris rather than Helen who was held to be directly responsible for Troy's destruction (Pind. *Pae.* B3 Rutherford; Eur. *Andr.* 103; Σ Hom. *Il.* 3.325; ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5). To charge Penelope with the killing of the suitors, meanwhile, is on almost any reading perverse (although that is what Amphimedon's ghost does at Hom. *Od.* 24.121–90). **ἀπέκτεινεν Ἱππόλυτον φιλοῦσα Φαίδρα, Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα μὴ φιλοῦσα:** another pair of parallel exempla drawn from tragedy, this time in antithesis (emphasised by

the chiastic configuration of subjects and objects). The parts. are best taken as conditionals, on the analogy with ἄν/ἐάν at 1.8.5 (the presence of μή, which is used more liberally by A. (Intro. 4(d)) and other post-classical writers, is not a decisive indicator).

1.8.7 ὦ πάντα τολμῶσαι γυναῖκες: a grandiose apostrophe, lent tragic solemnity by the iambic rhythm and the τολμ- root (cf. Eur. *Ion* 252–3: ὦ τλήμονες γυναῖκες· ὦ τολμήματα / θεῶν; Soph. *OC* 761: ὦ πάντα τολμῶν). **κἄν:** for ἐάν (= εἰ). **Ἀγαμέμνονα . . . ἔδει** 'Agamemnon was fated . . .'. **καλόν . . . κάλλος:** whereas beauty in females is to be feared, in males it is to be celebrated. **οὐράνιον:** evoking Aphrodite Οὐρανία, the patron of 'homosexual' love in Pausanias' speech in Plato's *Symposium* (180d; cf. 2.36.2n.). **ὄμματα . . . τερπικεραύνωι:** Hom. *Il.* 2.478, where the posited likeness to Zeus suggests the king's majestic stature rather than his attractiveness. The line is widely quoted by authors of the imperial period (Dio Chr. 12.62, Philostr. *Ep.* 24, Cass. Dio 78.8.6 etc.).

1.8.8 ἐπί 'in the case of', specifying the subject of discussion (LSJ A.I.2.f). **καὶ μέτριον** 'in fact not so bad'. ἐστί is omitted by ellipsis. **ἔχει τινὰ παρηγορίαν** 'offers (ἔχει = παρέχει) a kind of consolation for . . .' On this use of τις see 1.6.4n. **καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐν ἀτυχήμασιν εὐτυχεῖν** 'and this can be counted a stroke of fortune in the midst of misfortunes'. **καὶ ταῦτα μειράκιον οὕτω καλόν** '– and when the youth is so handsome, at that!', anacolouthon with ellipsis of 'to be'. μειράκιον . . . καλόν is nom., in exclamation. For this idiomatic use of καὶ ταῦτα see Smyth §947.

1.8.9 μή . . . μήπω: the repetition (which reappears in the next sentence but one) marks Clinias' imploring tone. **δοῦλος** picks up Charicles' metaphor of enslavement to his father's will from 1.7.5. **μηδὲ τὸ ἄνθος πρὸ καιροῦ τῆς ἥβης ἀπολέσηις:** the 'flower of youth' is a 'universal poetic cliché' (Silk 1974: 100), an image of transient fragility as well as beauty. Clinias means in the first instance that Charicles risks growing up too soon (cf. Theognis 1069–70). But there are more intimations of the youth's impending demise too: 'losing a flower' can refer to young death (cf. 1.13.3 and e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 252, Thuc. 4.133.1). Generally on the flower theme see Intro. 5(b). **μαραίνει τὴν ἀκμήν:** μαραίνω ('wither', 'cause to waste') is appropriate to a flower, but also reinforces the fatalistic theme of the passage. ἀκμή refers by metonymy to the beauty of those who are at their 'peak'. **μὴ παραδῶις . . . ἀμόρφωι γεωργῶι:** Clinias evokes the conventional language of the defloration of virgins, gender-reversing it so as to portray Charicles as the tender virgin and his prospective bride as the plucker. There are also further hints of death, with an echo of the famous simile at Hom. *Il.* 8.302–8

(the dying Gorgythion compared to a sagging poppy). **τρυγῆσαι:** epexegetical inf. The verb is more commonly used of the harvesting of grapes.

1.8.10 ταῦτα . . . καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἐμοὶ μελήσει alludes perhaps to Xen. *Cyr.* 2.1.15 (ταῦτα . . . ἐμοὶ μελήσει σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς; cf. also Hom. Od. 11.332, πομπὴ . . . θεοῖσ' ὑμῖν τε μελήσει). The general idea (just leave it to the gods: who knows how things will turn out?) is very common: cf. *P.Sapph.Obbink* 13–16, Theogn. 1047–8, Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.9, and the Homeric formula ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται (*Il.* 17.514; *Od.* 1.267 etc.). **τὴν προθεσμίαν τῶν γάμων** 'the appointed day for the marriage' (cf. 5.21.3). **χρόνος . . . ἡμερῶν** 'an interval of several days'. For ἡμέραι in this sense cf. Xen. Eph. 5.2.6. **πολλὰ δ' ἂν γένοιτο καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ μιᾶι:** a variation on Menander's πόλλ' ἐν ἡμέραι μίαι / γένοιτ' ἄν (*Dysc.* 187–8). The reason for νυκτί is not immediately obvious (though cf. Eur. fr. 101 *TGrF* ἀλλ' ἡμέρα τοι πολλὰ καὶ μέλαινα νὺξ / τίκτει βροτοῖσιν). **κατὰ σχολὴν ζητήσωμεν** 'let us seek (*sc.* a solution) at our leisure'. Intransitive ζητέω is unusual: O'Sullivan's supplement <μηχανήν> (1978: 317; cf. 2.12.1) is attractive, but perhaps an object is already implied by πολλά (so Conca 1995: 134).

1.8.11 τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον 'In the meantime', an expression common enough in imperial literature but practically unknown beforehand. **ἀπήλαυσα:** the aorist of ἀπολαύω. The double augment is regular in the novels, and should be retained here (Sanz Morales 2012: 123–5). **ἐπικουφιεῖ δέ . . . τὸ λυπούμενον** 'the exercise will lighten the grief in my soul'. Similarly at 1.6.3 Cl. observes that daytime distractions lighten (ἐπικουφίζει) the pains of the soul. **ὁ μὲν . . . μελλήσων ἱππάζεσθαι:** direct narrative prolepsis is rare in *L&C* (Hägg 1971: 234, Intro. 4(c)); the exceptional usage here marks a fittingly fatalistic culmination to an episode suffused with tragic language and motifs. τὴν τελευταίαν ὁδόν is the so-called 'acc. of the way', found frequently in *L&C* (Sexauer 1899: 20; see Schmid 1887–97: index Akkusativ 2). The phrase ominously recalls tragedy's metaphorical 'final path,' i.e. down to Hades (e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 155 ὁδὸν τὴν τελευταίαν; cf. *Ant.* 807 τὴν νεάταν ὁδόν). μελλήσων ἱππάζεσθαι = μέλλων ἱππάσεσθαι.

1.9.1 Ἐγὼ δὲ . . . τῆς κόρης: a recapitulation motivated by internal narrative considerations, i.e. the need to inform Clinias (Hägg 1971: 278–80). καταλέγω may carry an echo of similar recapitulations in the *Odyssey* (e.g. *Od.* 4.738, 23.309; cf. 2.34.7). τὸ δρᾶμα, '(the events of) my story', is mildly self-reflexive: romance narrative is often presented as 'dramatic' (Intro. 4(a); cf. 1.3.3). τὸ δρᾶμα πῶς ἐγένετο ('how the drama unfolded') covers the whole story so far; the shift to the opt. marks the transition to

individual episodes. The events are alluded to with a certain amount of ambiguity: πῶς πάθοιμι could describe either the effects of Cl.'s first sighting of L. (1.4.4–5) or his nocturnal anxieties (1.6.1–5); πῶς ἴδοιμι could refer to his first sighting of L. (1.4.3) or his covert gawping (1.6.6); τὴν καταγωγήν might refer to the women's taking up lodging within the house (1.5.1n.) or to the domestic configuration in general. τὸ δεῖπνον, however, must refer to the meal at 1.5.1–3. The elements in the list are elegantly balanced, both syntactically and euphonically: after the paired πῶς πάθοιμι and πῶς ἴδοιμι, the four nouns are arranged chiastically by gender (fem. / neut. / neut. / fem.), with heavy alliteration of κ. **τελευτῶν . . . τῶι λόγωι συνίειν ἀσχημονῶν** 'finally, I began to realise that I was embarrassing myself with my words'. τελευτῶν is in effect adverbial (LSJ II.4). **ὅλος . . . Ἔρως:** ὅλος is predicative (1.1.5n.); Eros has attacked 'in full force'. On the military metaphor see Intro. 6(a). **μου διώκει . . . τῶν ὀμμάτων** 'drives the sleep from my eyes'. μου could be understood as a gen. of separation after διώκειν (cf. Hom. *Od.* 18.8), or simply as a possessive in the inverted position favoured by A. (Intro. 4(d)). **πάντοτε Λευκίππην φαντάζομαι** 'I see imaginary visions of L. continually'. Lovers are prone to such illusions (cf. 2.13.2 and Char. 6.4.7; Goldhill 2001: 168 and Morales 2004: 92–3 detect echoes of Stoic psychology). Some (e.g. O'Sullivan 1978: 317) prefer the alternative reading πάντα, on the analogy with 5.13.3, 7.16.4 and 8.9.2; but in those cases πάντα describes a single action performed 'completely', not (as here) a phenomenon repeated over time.

1.9.2 οὐ γέγονεν ἄλλωι τινὶ τοιοῦτον ἀτύχημα: Cl.'s comically exaggerated description of his own suffering (in the manner of a naive lover from New Comedy) borrows from Clinias' lexicon (women bring ἀτύχημα: 1.8.8, 1.8.9). τινί is transmitted only by F, but the unit ἄλλος τις ('someone else') is abundantly paralleled elsewhere in *L&C* (cf. 2.34.5, 3.2.9, 5.27.3, 7.2.3), and gives good sense here (esp. in connection with ἄλλωι . . . ἐραστῆι at 1.9.3). **τὸ . . . κακόν μοι καὶ συνοικεῖ** 'my source of trouble even lives with me'. The phrasing recalls Charicles' ἵνα διπλῶι συνοικῶ τῶι κακῶι (1.7.4), and thus underlines the parallels between the circumstances of the two young lovers forced into unwanted marriages (1.7–11n.). **εὐτυχῶν:** Cl.'s blessedness is repeatedly emphasised in what follows (σοι δέδωκε . . . ἡ Τύχη . . . εὐτυχῆι . . . εὐδαιμονέστεροι . . . τύχωσι . . . εὐτυχῶν . . . Ἔρωτος δωρεάν), in stark contradiction of Cl.'s claim to ἀτύχημα. **οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας . . . παρακαλεῖν:** i.e. you do not need to play the role of the *exclusus amator*, the lover who in Hellenistic and Roman *paraklausithyra* ('lovers' laments by a locked door') finds himself shut out (cf. Theocr. 3, Call. *Ep.* 63 Pfeiffer,

Asclepiades *Anth. Pal.* 5.145 (= 12 Sens), 164 (= 13 Sens), 167 (= 14 Sens), 189 (= 42 Sens); Copley 1956), and sometimes beseeching an implacable slave for entry (e.g. Ov. *Am.* 1.6.1–2). Alternatively, the διάκονος might be taken as one of the lover's own slaves, serving as a go-between (e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 433–524, Lys. 1.18–22, Theocr. 2.94–103) – the role, as it happens, played in Book 2 by Satyrus. διάκονος suggests the erotic intrigues of New Comedy (Men. *Asp.* 121, *Dysc.* 219 etc.). **φέρουσα . . . ἵδρυσεν:** like a cult object installed in a shrine (Jos. *Ant.* 18.56, Nonn. *D.* 2.413). L. is perhaps being imagined as a totemic statue captured from another city and placed in the victors' temple.

1.9.3 ἤρκεσε . . . νενόμικεν: ἤρκεσε is a gnomic aor., translated by the English pres. (Smyth §1931); Clinias then shifts to the empiric perf., signalling 'a general truth expressly based on a fact of experience' (Smyth §1948). There is no appreciable difference in meaning between the two tenses here. **τηρουμένης** 'guarded', i.e. subject to surveillance. **καὶ μέγιστον . . . εὐτυχῆι** 'he counts it (τοῦτο, prospective) as the greatest success if his luck extends even to getting a glimpse of her'. ἐραστής intrudes into the syntax, and should be deleted; it no doubt originated as a marginal gloss clarifying the subject of this sentence. **οἱ . . . εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν ἐραστῶν:** i.e. the luckier among those whose beloveds live elsewhere. Supply μέγιστον τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν νενομίκασιν from the previous sentence. **ἂν . . . κἂν** 'if . . . even . . .'

1.9.4 καὶ ταῦτα εὐτυχῶν ἐγκαλεῖς 'And you complain, with luck like that!' ταῦτα is the direct object of εὐτυχῶν. **ἀχάριστος:** 1.7.1n. **οἷόν ἐστιν ἐρωμένη βλεπομένη** 'what kind of a privilege it is to be able to gaze upon your beloved', lit. 'what kind of thing a gazed-upon beloved is'. **μείζονα τῶν ἔργων ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν:** i.e. looking at one's beloved is better than sex. ἔχει = παρέχει. ἔργον is Cl.'s standard euphemism for the sexual act (1.9.5, 1.10.2, 1.10.4 (*bis*) etc., and πρᾶξις at 1.10.5; cf. Opelt 1966: 950, and Adams 1982: 156–7 on Latin *opus*). The usage may derive either from such literary phrases as the Homeric φιλοτήσια ἔργα or simply from masculine banter.

1.9.4–5 ὀφθαλμοὶ . . . σωμάτων συμπλοκή: Clinias lays out a complex theory of the physiology of erotic vision, which draws primarily on the atomist tradition, with some Platonic colouring (Bychkov 1999; Morales 2004: 130–5; similar claims are made at 5.13.4). In particular, Clinias' theory, with its talk of εἴδωλα, reflections and wax-like impressions, looks Democritean (1.9.4n.; see Rudolph 2011 on atomist theories of vision).

1.9.4 ὀφθαλμοὶ . . . τὰ εἴδωλα 'The eyes (i.e. of both lover and beloved simultaneously) are reflected by each other, and like mirrors receive the

imprint of the particles (εἴδωλα) emitted by each other's bodies (σωμάτων)'. The first half of the sentence suggests analogy with the reflection of light, the second with stamping onto wax or soft clay (ἀπομάττουσιν, a metaphor originating with the early atomists: cf. οἷον εἰ ἐκμάξειας εἰς κηρόν, Atomists R57 L–M). The idea, together with the simile ὡς ἐν κατόπτρωι, is borrowed from Pl. *Phaedr.* 255d (ὥσπερ . . . ἐν κατόπτρωι); on A.'s mirror imagery see 1.1.11n. The act. of ἀπομάττω is normally used for creating impressions, not as here for receiving them. **ἡ δὲ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή . . . ἐν ἀποστάσει** 'The effluence of beauty pours down into the soul through the eyes (αὐτῶν), and produces (ἔχει = παρέχει) a kind of (τινά: 1.6.4n.) remote (ἐν ἀποστάσει, 'at a distance') mingling'. ἡ . . . τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή borrows from Pl. *Phaedr.* 251b (τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ἀπορροήν).

1.9.5 καὶ ὀλίγον . . . σωμάτων συμπλοκή 'It (i.e. the process whereby the atoms of each partner are mingled via the eyes) is a miniature version of physical intercourse, a novel kind of (καινή) interweaving of bodies'. For ὀλίγον + partitive gen. cf. 4.14.2, 5.26.2, 7.4.1. Clinias plays on the ambiguity in μίξις, both 'mingling' of heterogeneous elements (like the foreign atoms absorbed through the eyes) and 'sexual intercourse'. καινός in the sense of 'novel' or 'unprecedented' is common in the romances, perhaps in covert celebration of the innovative qualities of the genre and the surprises of the plot (see e.g. Tilg 2010: 164–97 on Chariton). **τὸ ἔργον:** 1.9.4n. **ἐφόδιον εἰς πειθώ** 'provisions for the journey towards gaining consent'. An ἐφόδιον is something that helps one along one's way, usually either money (cf. 4.17.6, 6.2.5) or advice (cf. 1.11.1). **πρόξενος:** 1.7.4n. **χάριν** 'reciprocation' of erotic feelings. On Clinias' χάρις terms see 1.7.1n. **ἀνυσιμώτερον** 'particularly effective'.

1.9.6 τὰ ἄγρια τῶν θηρίων 'untamed beasts' (see Smyth §1312 on this periphrastic construction). On the analogy between the domestication of animals and the seduction of women see Intro. 5(b). **πολὺ μᾶλλον ταύτηι** marks the *a fortiori* argument (on μᾶλλον + dat. see 1.1.10n.). **μαλαχθείη . . . γυνή:** potential opt. with omission of ἄν. **τι πρὸς παρθένον ἐπαγωγόν** 'something seductive, to a maiden's eye'. The idea is derived from Pl. *Phaedr.* 240c. **τὸ . . . ἐν ὥραι τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐπεῖγον εἰς τὴν φύσιν** 'that part of us that when we are in our prime urges us on towards (the acts of) nature', i.e. sex. On the 'naturalness' of sexuality see Intro. 5(b). **ἀντέρωτα:** borrowed from Pl. *Phaedr.* 255b. The subject of τίκτει is both τὸ . . . ἐπεῖγον and τὸ συνειδός. **θέλει γὰρ ἑκάστη τῶν παρθένων εἶναι καλή:** Cl.'s generalising advice about young women adopts the idiom of the erotic manual (cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.613: 'every woman thinks she is in need of love'). **ἐπαινεῖ τῆς μαρτυρίας τὸν φιλοῦντα** 'she commends her lover for his testimony' to

the fact that she is loved. **οὔπω πεπίστευκεν εἶναι καλή:** on the 'empiric perfect' see 1.9.3n.

1.9.7 πῶς οὖν . . . γένοιτο τοῦτο τὸ μάντευμα 'How then might this prophecy of yours (i.e. that she will swiftly reciprocate) come true?' For the omission of ἄν cf. 1.9.6 (with n.). **ἀφορμάς . . . ὁδούς:** picking up the metaphor of seduction as a journey introduced by ἐφόδιον (1.9.5, with n.). ἀφορμή, 'starting-point', is a metaphor familiar from rhetoric and philosophy (Erler 2015). **μύστης . . . τελετῆι:** on the initiatory language see 1.2.2n.

1.10.1 αὐτοδίδακτος . . . ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς σοφιστής: Clinias borrows a famous line from Euripides, 'Eros teaches (διδάσκει) one to be a poet, even if one is previously unlearned (ἄμουσος)' (fr. 663 *TGrF*; cf. also fr. 430; Plut. *Mor.* 762b, Long. 4.18.1). For Eros as sophist cf. also Pl. *Symp.* 203d, Xen. *Cyr.* 6.1.41 (Stravoskiadis 1889: 14–15 collects other parallels). Similar ideas are found at 5.27.1 (Eros teaches (διδάσκει) eloquence) and 5.27.4 (Eros is a self-reliant and resourceful σοφιστής). αὐτοδίδακτος recalls Homer's Phemius, the best-known autodidact of Greek literature (Hom. *Od.* 22.347–8). **ὥσπερ . . . τὴν τράπεζαν:** knowledge of how to seduce is as natural and untaught as an infant's knowledge of where its food (τράπεζαν, by metonymy) comes from. **αὐτόματα . . . μαζοῖς** evokes a pseudetymology deriving αὐτόματος from the child's intuitive search (μαστεύειν) for the breast (μαστός or μαζός: see *Et. magn.* αὐτομάτως). A. is credited with having written on etymology (Intro. 1). αὐτόματα, agreeing with τὰ ἀρτίτοκα, is predicative (i.e. 'spontaneously'). **ἐκμανθάνει καὶ οἶδεν** 'knows by finding out for itself', hendiadys.

1.10.1–2 πρωτοκύμων . . . τοκετόν . . . ὠδὶς . . . πρωτοκύμων . . . τεκεῖν . . . μαιωθείς: the analogy now shifts from that of an infant breast-feeding to a first-time mother giving birth. The description of male pregnancy and childbirth evokes Socrates' discussion (via Diotima) of the gestation of philosophical wisdom at *Symp.* 206b–7a (cf. *Theaet.* 150a–51d; Ar. *Nub.* 137; Leitao 2012).

1.10.1 πρωτοκύμων 'pregnant for the first time', an Achillean neologism, here governing the objective gen. ἔρωτος.

1.10.2 ἡ ὠδίς 'contraction pains'. **τῆς ἀνάγκης ἡ προθεσμία** 'the moment of necessity', i.e. the onset of labour. On προθεσμία see 1.8.10n. **μηδὲν πλανηθείς** 'without putting a foot wrong'. **εὑρήσεις τεκεῖν** 'you will find a way to give birth', i.e. to consummate the act. **ὅσα δέ . . . τύχης δεόμενα** 'but as for those principles that are common (to every situation) and do

not depend on circumstances'. Specific contexts will vary, and the lover must consult his instinct to help him to improvise; but Clinias can teach some general rules. Shifting adeptly from the specific to the general, he adopts the tone of a theoretician: ὅσα . . . ἐστι κοινά has a Peripatetic ring (e.g. Arist. *HA* 523a, *Meteor.* 378b, 383a, 389b; Theophr. *HP* 3.3.2). **σύ:** didactic ('make sure that you . . .'). **μηδὲν . . . εἴπῃς . . . Ἀφροδίσιον** 'don't mention anything of a sexual nature'. **τὸ . . . ἔργον:** 1.9.4n.

1.10.3 εἰς αἰδῶ 'when it comes to embarrassment'. **πρὸς δὲ . . . γνώμης ἔχωσιν** 'even if their intention is (γνώμης ἔχωσιν) to reciprocate (πρὸς . . . τὴν . . . χάριν) sexually (τῆς Ἀφροδίτης)'. These words have caused much perplexity (see Vilborg 1962 *ad loc.*; O'Sullivan 1978: 319), but ἔχειν + advb. + γνώμης ('to be of x opinion'), is paralleled elsewhere in *L&C* (2.21.3) and is found in the prose of all periods (e.g. Dem. *De Symmor.* 2, Dion. Hal. *De Comp.* 7, Aristid. 2.11; see further 1.7.1n. and Smyth §1441). Here the adverbial nuance is supplied by πρὸς . . . τὴν . . . χάριν (i.e. A. might have written πρὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην κἂν γνώμης ἔχωσιν εὐχαρίστως). **ἃ πάσχουσιν** 'what is happening to them'. The beloved is imagined as passive to the seduction process, raw matter on which the seducer works. **τὴν γὰρ αἰσχύνην . . . ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασι** 'they believe that the shame lies in the talking', rather than in the sexual act itself.

1.10.4 γυναῖκας . . . καὶ τὰ ῥήματα 'Now, adult women – they do in fact (adverbial καί) take pleasure in the words'. **τοὺς μὲν ἔξωθεν . . . πεῖραν φέρει** 'endures the long-distance missiles of her lovers tossed in from the outside, as a way of testing her (εἰς πεῖραν)'. The metaphor suggests the siege of a city: the girl is within the battlements, and the lovers are launching exploratory ballistic attacks (cf. Thuc. 7.25.8: in attempting to storm the harbour of Syracuse, the Athenians use ἀκροβολισμοῖς καὶ πείραις παντοίαις). πεῖρα and cognates are very commonly associated with seduction by A. (cf. 1.10.5, 2.4.3, 2.37.5, 6.20.3). A fragment of Philaenis' erotic manual is headed Περὶ πειρασμῶν (*P.Oxy.* 2891), and styles the seducer τὸν πειρῶντα (fr. 1.1–2). See also 2.17.3n. on the activation of this root for πειρατής, 'pirate'. **συντίθεται τοῖς νεύμασιν** 'indicates her acquiescence using body language', lit. 'she agrees with her nods'. συντίθεμαι (the mid. form) is used for any kind of compact; perhaps (given the previous siege metaphor) we might think of a surrender on terms. νεῦμα, literally a 'nod', can be used for any subverbal gestures. Protocols of αἰδώς forbid the girl from assenting explicitly, but she will emit subtle signals if she is willing (Intro. 6(a)). Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.4.17–18 (the poet to his lover, ahead of a party where her husband will be present): 'Watch me and my nods (*nutus*), and my eloquent expression; / catch my furtive signs, and send the same back

to me'. **προσελθών:** particularly when used participially, this verb simply means 'go up to' someone (1.5.2n.), but given the surrounding military language there is here an additional suggestion of 'attack'. **ἐκπλήξεις αὐτῆς τὰ ὦτα τῇι φωνῆι:** ἔκπληξις (1.3.3n.) usually occurs as a result of visual stimuli; Clinias' unusual use of the word in connection with the ears emphasises the role accorded to language in this section. **ἐρυθριᾶι:** out of embarrassment (on other reasons for blushing see 1.4.3n. and esp. 2.6.1n.). Clinias shifts now to the present tense. **τότε γὰρ . . . ἀκούει** 'for she thinks that she is experiencing the act at the point when in fact she is only listening to an attempt, thanks to the pleasure generated by the words'. Conversation permits a certain syntactical elasticity: ἐκ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἡδονῆς should by rights modify νομίζει (the verbal pleasure leads her to the mistaken belief), not ἀκούει.

1.10.5 τὴν πεῖραν προσάγων τὴν ἄλλην 'by attempting the other kind of siege'; lit. 'drawing up the other kind of attempt', viz. an approach without the use of explicit language. πεῖραν προσάγειν suggests a military assault (cf. ps.-Dem. *In Neaer.* 102); the metaphor becomes explicit when Satyrus echoes this passage at 2.4.3 (see n.). **εὐάγωγον** 'docile', 'amenable', like a well-trained horse (Poll. 1.194–5). As at 1.9.6, seduction of a woman is compared to the breaking in of an animal. **σιώπα μὲν οὖν τὰ πολλὰ ὡς ἐν μυστηρίοις** 'in that case (οὖν) keep quiet for the most part, as they do in the mystery cults'. In the mysteries one was expected to observe the call to εὐφημεῖν, i.e. maintain a ritual silence. On erotic metaphors drawn from mystery cults see 1.2.2n. **τὸ . . . φίλημα . . . παρέχειν:** τό goes with παρέχειν (not with φίλημα). **θέλουσαν μὲν . . . ἀπειθοῦσαν δέ:** consent is an important theme in the remaining part of Clinias' advice. Although the aim is to bend L. to Cl.'s will, he must wait until she is persuaded. See Intro. 6(a). **αἴτησίς ἐστι σιωπῆι** 'constitutes a silent invitation'. The adverbial σιωπῆι modifies αἴτησίς ἐστι as if it were simply αἰτεῖ. **ἱκετηρία** 'a suppliant's prayer', i.e. a sign of desperation.

1.10.6 κἂν μὲν προσῆι τις συνθήκη τῆς πράξεως 'And even if some promise of action ensues'. συνθήκη looks back to συντίθεται at 1.10.4. τῆς πράξεως is a synonym for τοῦ ἔργου (1.9.4n.). **πολλάκις . . . τὸ ἑκούσιον:** the most difficult passage in *L&C* from the perspective of modern sexual ethics. Clinias suggests that young women claim coercion in order to hide their complicity. Cf. 2.25.1–2, where L. falsely claims to her mother that she has been assaulted by an unknown intruder. On these issues see Intro. 6(a). **ἵνα τῆι δόξηι . . . τὸ ἑκούσιον** 'so that they may use the appearance of coercion to distract from their willing complicity in the shameful matter'. The sentence is built around two gen. phrases, arranged chiastically (τῆι

δόξηι τῆς ἀνάγκης / τῆς αἰσχύνης τὸ ἑκούσιον). τὸ ἑκούσιον is an imperial-era term usually used by philosophers to mean 'the will'; the sense here ('willing complicity in' + objective gen.) is unusual. The mid. ἀποτρέπωνται suggests deflecting something away *from oneself*. **ἀνθισταμένην** 'resisting'. **ἐπιτήρει πῶς ἀνθίσταται:** a display of reluctance on the young woman's part, Clinias claims, does not necessarily mean she is unwilling. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.5.15 (Corinna fights back, the poet claims, 'like someone unwilling to win') and 2.7.7 (κωλύουσα δῆθεν) with n.

1.10.7 κἂν . . . προσκαρτερῆι 'if she holds out'. καρτερεῖν has a philosophical tinge, suggesting the virtuous resistance of the morally strong: in the romances, however, it is often fruitless (cf. e.g. Xen. Eph. 1.4.2). **βίαν . . . πείθεται:** 1.10.5n. **ἐὰν . . . μαλθακώτερον ἤδη θέληι** 'if she now softens and shows willing' (lit. 'shows willing more softly'). The reference to 'softening' again suggests the breaking in of wild animals (cf. μαλαχθείη . . . γυνή, 1.9.6). Emendation of θέληι to ἔλθηι is inviting (cf. ἡδέως . . . προσέρχηι, 1.10.5; ἑκοῦσαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐρχόμεναι, 1.10.6), but not necessary: cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5.42 for absolute θέλειν = 'acquiesce' to sex. **χορήγησον τὴν ὑπόκρισιν . . . τὸ δρᾶμα** 'direct your acting in such a way as not to spoil your play'. In Classical Athens, the χορηγός had been a wealthy citizen who was financially liable for the cost of equipping a chorus, one of a number of specific tax burdens (liturgies) imposed upon the super-rich; by imperial times this figure 'was more of a director or manager than a financier' (Wilson 2000: 277). Strictly speaking, χορηγεῖν should refer to the direction of a chorus and διδάσκειν to that of the named actors (the ὑποκριταί: see *IG* II2 3157 (= *TGrF* 1 p. 42)): the phrase χορήγησον τὴν ὑπόκρισιν is thus mildly catachrestic.

1.11.1 ἐφόδια: 1.9.5n. **τὸ εὐτύχημα:** the fact that Cl. and L. live in the same house (cf. 1.9.2). **ἐπιτρίψηι με πρὸς ἔρωτα πλείονα** 'may incite me to an even greater passion' (LSJ ἐπιτρίβειν III).

1.11.2 γαμεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην: a true μέν *solitarium* (1.5.1n.), i.e. where there is no expressed contrast or balance. But that is exactly Cl.'s rhetorical point: he would like to have the alternative option (of marrying her) available, but he does not. **δέδομαι:** echoing Charicles' description of his own forced marriage (ἐκδίδομαι, 1.7.5). **ἐπίκειται . . . μοι . . . ὁ πατήρ** 'my father is pressuring me into this marriage'. **δίκαια αἰτῶν** ' – and his request is perfectly reasonable.' **οὐδ' ὡς Χαρικλέα πλούτωι με πωλεῖ:** cf. 1.7.5. The dat. is probably of price (Smyth §1372a, 1508a), though might alternatively be taken metaphorically as an indirect object (Charicles is being sold off 'to wealth'). **καὶ . . . καί:** Cl.'s equivocation before the two

competing demands is reproduced syntactically in parallel clauses, both revolving around the theme of vision and both introduced by πρός.

1.11.3 ἐν μεθορίωι κεῖμαι δύο ἐναντίων: μεθόριος, usually adjectival, is here a neut. substantive indicating territory that lies on the border between two states (i.e. Eros and his father). Such allegorical presentations of binary ethical choices are common in imperial literature; at the back of Cl.'s mind is Prodicus' myth of Heracles' choice between the personifications of virtue and vice (Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21–34), a parable much imitated in Roman times (Gera 1995: 239). **ὁ μὲν ἕστηκεν αἰδῶ κρατῶν** 'the one (i.e. his father) stands there wielding shame'. On this use of κρατέω see 1.1.13n. Most editors follow the majority MSS reading and print the dat. αἰδοῖ, i.e. 'the one stands there, overmastering (me) with shame', but that obscures the contrast between the weapons (shame and fire) brandished by Hippias and Eros. **[καθῆται]** cannot be right: not only does it lack any point, but also Eros is said almost immediately afterwards to be standing (ἕστηκε). The interpolation probably arose from a misconceived desire to force a contrast with ὁ μὲν ἕστηκεν. **πυρπολῶν:** on the iconography of Eros – wings, bow and torch – see 1.1.13n. **πῶς κρίνω τὴν δίκην;** the metaphor now shifts, and Cl. becomes a juror adjudicating between two opponents at law. κρίνω is a deliberative subj. (either pres. or aor.): Cl. imagines himself like a tragic hero who finds himself at an impasse. **ἀνάγκη . . . φύσις:** i.e. his father's iron will (cf. οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην . . ., 1.11.2) and Cl.'s own innate sexual urges (cf. 1.9.6). **βασανίζει τὸν δικαστήν:** an affront to class status, since torture was normally applied only to slaves in court (cf. 7.12.1). **ἕστηκε μετὰ βελῶν, κρίνεται μετὰ πυρός** 'he is standing there fully armed; he wields fire while contesting the case (LSJ κρίνω ii.2.b.)'. **ἂν ἀπειθήσω, πάτερ, αὐτῶι καίομαι τῶι πυρί:** the protasis is that of a fut. conditional and the apodosis that of a pres.; the overall meaning is pres. This hybrid construction is not uncommon in *L&C* (cf. 1.13.3, 2.3.2, 2.4.1, 2.26.3).

1.12–14: The death of Charicles

Although there have been warning signals, the immediate announcement of Charicles' death comes as a shock. The episode is dominated by tragic motifs. A slave runs in and narrates the grisly events in the manner of a dramatic messenger (1.12.1n., on εἰστρέχει); Euripides' *Hippolytus* contains such a messenger speech (similarly delivered by a slave) detailing a chariot crash, a description that is alluded to at 1.12.4, 1.12.5 and 1.12.6 (see nn. *ad loc.*; see further Lefteratou 2018: 143 nn. 543–4). There are also echoes of Sophocles' *Electra*, where Orestes is falsely reported to have

died in an analogous crash (1.12.6nn.); and of the death of Patroclus in the *Iliad* (1.12.5, 1.12.6, 1.14.1, 1.14.2). Another important hypotext for the riding accident is Plato's *Phaedrus*, which contains a famous analogy comparing a subject's sexual restraint to a charioteer's ability to control a horse (246a–54e). There are hints that the death of Charicles may be interpreted in a similarly allegorical way, as the result of a failure of rational control (1.12.3n. on ἀλογίστως); there is indeed one clear allusion to the Platonic passage (1.12.3n. on χαλινὸν δακών). Echoes of the ecphrasis of Europa on the bull (1.1.1–12) reinforce the theme of humans' fragile control over wild nature (1.12.4n.).

The report of the young man's demise is followed by a pair of laments, one by the father and the other by Clinias (the dyad reflecting the tradition of antiphonal lamentation, on which see Alexiou 2002 (1974): 131–60, and 1.13.2n.). The father's speech follows the traditional tripartite structure of the lament (Alexiou 2002 (1974): 133–4): an address to the son (focusing on his lost beauty, 1.13.2), followed by a 'narrative' (actually a disquisition on the theme that it is far preferable to mourn one whose likeness is preserved, 1.13.3–4), followed by a closing address to Charicles lamenting the marriage that will now never be (1.13.5–6). Clinias' response, by contrast, focuses entirely on self-recrimination (and recrimination against the horse: in effect more self-recrimination, since he gave the gift to Charicles). This mourning scene creates a template for Cl.'s responses on the later occasions when he believes L. dead (3.16.3–5, 5.7.8–9, 7.5): see esp. 1.13.4n., 1.13.5n.

1.12.1 ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν . . . ἐξαίφνης δὲ παῖς 'Now (οὖν), while we . . . a slave suddenly . . .' On the use of οὖν 'marking a new stage in the sequence of events' see Denniston 426 (cf. O'Sullivan 11.3.d). ἐξαίφνης marks the change of pace from leisurely reflections (indicated by the imperf. ἐφιλοσοφοῦμεν) to the unexpected announcement of Charicles' death and the chaotic events that follow. **ἐφιλοσοφοῦμεν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ:** the god is Eros. φιλοσοφεῖν is used by A. broadly to refer to any kind of reflective thinking or action (5.16.7, 23.7, 27.1 etc.; cf. Men. *Sam.* 725, fr. 182 *PCG*), but here it strikes a pretentious note (even if there have been philosophical elements to the previous discussion, notably at 1.9.4–5). **παῖς εἰστρέχει** 'a slave arrived at a run'. On παῖς see 1.5.4n. The dramatic flavour of εἰστρέχει (1.7.3n.) gives the narrative the air of a tragic messenger speech (although messengers can enter at a run in prose narrative too: e.g. ἔθεε . . . τις ἀγγελέων . . . τὸ γεγονός, Hdt. 1.43.3). **ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου τὴν ἀγγελίαν τοῦ κακοῦ** 'with an expression that announced disaster'. **ὡς καὶ τὸν Κλεινίαν . . . ἀνακραγεῖν**: 'so that (ὡς = ὥστε) Clinias fully (adverbial καί) cried out aloud'.

1.12.2: τὸν . . . Κλεινίαν . . . ἀφῆκεν ἡ φωνή 'Clinias' voice failed him'. **ἀκίνητος:** similarly, Cl. experiences ἀκινησία at 3.15.6 on witnessing the apparent death of L. **ὥσπερ τυφῶνι βεβλημένος τῶι λόγωι:** A. seems to have originated this simile, which impressed Hld. (1.12.3) and Byzantine writers. **δύο . . . περιελθὼν ἢ τρεῖς δρόμους:** Charicles rides in an area apparently dedicated to horse-riding, perhaps an elongated oval clearing like civic hippodromes. The structured space of the δρόμος ('circuit') is differentiated from the dangerous, wild wood where the accident will happen. **κατέψα** 'rubbed down'.

1.12.3 ἀπομάττοντος . . . τῆς ἕδρας τοὺς ἱδρῶτας 'as he was wiping the sweat from the saddle', an internal gen. absolute (Charicles is the unexpressed subject). **ὄρθιον ἀρθείς** (from ἀείρω) describes the rigid, upright neck of the terrified horse. **ἀλογίστως** 'purposelessly', hinting that the story may be read as an allegory of the failure of reason (λογισμός: 1.12–14n.). **χαλινὸν δακών:** the allusion to Pl. *Phdr.* 254d (ἐνδακὼν τὸν χαλινόν) and the famous analogy between a chariot and the soul reinforces the allegorical quality of the passage (see previous n.). **τὸν αὐχένα σιμώσας καὶ φρίξας τὴν κόμην** 'arching its neck, and setting its hair on end'. The horse's neck and head are wrenched upwards, like a snub nose (cf. σιμός). **οἰστρηθεὶς τῶι φόβωι διαέριος ἵπτατο:** οἰστρέω (not the variant οἰστράω, as 1.18.3 and 2.37.8 clarify) denotes the stinging of the οἶστρος (gadfly), the insect that can also symbolise the urgings of lust; A.'s use of this word is another indication that the horse's behaviour can be taken as an allegory of uncontrolled passions. ἵπτατο is the non-Attic form of the aor. of πέτομαι (Intro. 4(d)). **τῶν . . . ποδῶν . . . διώκοντες τὸν ἵππον:** in a gallop, the horse's two sets of hooves, front and back, move in tandem; the slave imagines them as separate competitors in a race (cf. ἁμίλληι in the following sentence). The back legs 'urgently (ἐπειγόμενοι) hastened to overtake the front ones in the race, in pursuit of the horse'. τοὺς πρόσθεν is the object of φθάσαι, τὸν δρόμον of ἐπέσπευδον.

1.12.4 κυρτούμενος . . . δίκην νεὼς . . . ἐκυμαίνετο . . . κύματος echoes the ecphrastic description of the bull at 1.1 (cf. τοῦ κύματος . . . κυρτοῦται, 1.1.9; δίκην . . . νηός, 1.1.12); but whereas Europa is apparently in effortless control of her beast, Charicles is not. The alliteration of κ and τ and the word-play ποδῶν . . . πηδῶν mimic onomatopoeically the violent thudding of hooves: A. may have had in mind Homer's influential σμερδαλέον κονάβιζε ποδῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων (*Il.* 2.466; cf. 6.511, 10.535 and Pease 1926). **ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω πηδῶν** alludes to the bouncing wheels and axles in Euripides' description of Hippolytus' chariot crash (ἄνω . . . ἐπήδων, *Hipp.* 1234–5). **πρὸς τὴν ἑκατέρων σπουδὴν . . . τοῖς νώτοις**

ἐκυμαίνετο: the horse's back undulates, as first the front then the back legs pump, a wholly unrealistic description (as India Whitmarsh-Lewis assures me (pers. comm.), horses cannot buck and gallop simultaneously). On A.'s ignorance in equestrian matters see 1.1.1on. **ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἱππείας ταλαντευόμενος κύματος:** the undulation of the horse's back is compared simultaneously to a wave and to a set of scales (τάλαντον), the one pan rising as the other falls. The position of ταλαντευόμενος within the τοῦ . . . κύματος unit creates hyperbaton, perhaps mimicking syntactically Charicles' loss of control. **ἐσφαιρίζετο:** Charicles, dislodged from the rider's regular position, is bowled back and forth like a ball (σφαῖρα) in a two-player game of catch. **κυβιστῶν** 'tumbling' like a performing acrobat (κυβιστητήρ). **ὁ . . . τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπίεζεν αὐτὸν χειμών** 'the storm-waves were oppressing him'. ὁ . . . τοῦ κλύδωνος . . . χειμών is a kind of appositive gen. (Smyth §1322), i.e. lit. 'the storm that manifested itself as a wave'.

1.12.5 δοὺς δὲ ἑαυτὸν . . . τῆς Τύχης ἦν: like a sailor giving up the fight against gusting squalls and letting his ship go wherever the currents take him (cf. 5.9.3 and Hld. 5.6.2). For similar expressions see 2.27.3, 3.2.4. τῆς Τύχης is the predicative use of the possessive gen. (Smyth §1303): he was 'all Fortune's', i.e. he committed himself to Fortune's hands. Jacobs' (1814: 294–5) happy conjecture ὅλως has commonly been misattributed to Boissonade. **ῥύμηι θέων** 'charging at full speed'. **ἐς ὕλην ἐπήδησε:** this phrase is later echoed in Menelaus' story (2.34.3, with n. *ad loc.*). **περιρρήγνυσι δένδρωι** 'smashed him around a tree'. **ὁ δέ:** the slave now turns from the horse to Charicles, picking up the story a little earlier in the chronological sequence, i.e. just as the youth is being thrown from the saddle. **ὡς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς προσαραχθείς** 'hurled (< προσαράσσω) as if from a catapult'. ὡς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς usually indicates a theatrical simile (marking an unexpected appearance 'as if *ex machina*'), but here (and at 7.15.3) the reference is to siege machinery. **ὑπὸ . . . αἱ αἱχμαί:** the scene recalls Eur. *Hipp.* 1238–9 (cf. 1342–4), although there are no specific verbal allusions. **τὸ πρόσωπον αἰσχύνεται** 'his face was disfigured' (τὸ πρόσωπον is acc. of respect). The allusion is perhaps to Hom. *Il.* 18.24: on hearing the news of Patroclus' death, Achilles 'besmirched his lovely face' (χαρίεν . . . ἤισχυνε πρόσωπον). Iliadic colouring is enhanced by the use of the Homeric περιδρύπτεται (δρύπτειν is used of a spear's gouging: *Il.* 16.324) and αἱχμαί of the tree's branches.

1.12.6 οἱ . . . ῥυτῆρες αὐτῶι περιδεθέντες: Charicles' entanglement in the reins draws on Eur. *Hipp.* 1236–7 (δεσμὸν δυσεξέλικτον ἕλκεται δεθείς); cf. also Soph. *El.* 746–7. **οὐκ ἤθελον . . . ἀνθεῖλκον αὐτόν:** the reins are treated as though they have a hostile intent of their own. Now personified,

they act like Iliadic warriors fighting over the body of a fallen hero: cf. Hector 'dragging' (ἕλχ') Patroclus' corpse at *Il.* 17.126–7; see also previous n. for ἕλκεται in *Hippolytus*. **ἐπισύροντες θανάτου τρίβον** 'dragging him down the path of death'. τρίβον is an 'acc. of the way' (1.8.11n.). The literal (Charicles is dragged along a path) is blended with the metaphorical 'path of death'. The phrase θανάτου τρίβος, unparalleled in extant Greek, is a variation on the commoner ὁδός of death (e.g. 4.7.3, 7.6.3, Char. 1.6.1). **ἐμποδιζόμενος εἰς τὸν δρόμον τῶι σώματι** 'finding his course obstructed by the corpse'. **τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς φυγῆς** 'that which restrained him from bolting'. δεσμόν is one of a number of terms linking this passage to Euripides' *Hippolytus* (see n. above on οἱ . . . ῥυτῆρες αὐτῶι περιδεθέντες). **ὥστε οὐκ ἂν αὐτόν τις ἰδὼν οὐδὲ γνωρίσειεν:** cf. Soph. *El.* 755–6 (ὥστε μηδένα / γνῶναι φίλων ἰδόντ' ἂν ἄθλιον δέμας ~ Hom. *Il.* 16.638–40), of Orestes after his alleged chariot crash.

1.13.1 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν . . . ἐκπλήξεως: cf. his stunned silence at 1.12.2. **μεταξὺ . . . νήψας:** μεταξύ has been understood by scholars as an advb. with the unparalleled sense of 'afterwards' (Vilborg 1962 *ad loc.*); but it is preferable to take it closely with the part. as the equivalent of ἄρτι ('as soon as he regained consciousness'). Cf. 1.7.3, where ἄρτι + pres. part. stands, conversely, in the place of μεταξύ. νήφειν literally means 'sober up', but is widely used in the imperial period to mean 'become oneself again' or 'recover' after a period of delusion (hence ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ). **διωλύγιον:** an adj. of uncertain derivation. In classical authors it means 'huge', but writers of the imperial era connect it with ὀλολύζειν ('raise a shriek', 'lament'): cf. Char. 3.3.15, 3.7.4 (ἀνεκώκυσε . . . μέγα καὶ διωλύγιον, perhaps echoed here). It retains, however, the idea of size, as a secondary connotation (hence Char.'s μέγα καί): Byzantine lexicographers take it to mean 'with a great, lamentatory sound' (μέγα θρηνητικῶς ἠχοῦν, Ps.-Zonaras Διωλύγιον; cf. *Suda* κ 2230). **ἐκώκυσε:** in archaic literature, κωκύω is used only of women, but this restriction was eroded over time. Among the novelists, Char. (3.1.3) and Hld. (1.31.1, 7.14.5) use it exclusively of females; Long. (2.21.3) and A. (1.14.1, 3.5.2, 3.10.1, and see also below in this chapter) only of males. **ἐκδραμεῖν:** the inverse of εἰστρέχειν (1.12.1n.), and analogously suggestive of an exit at speed from a stage set. **παρηγορῶν:** 2.35.1n.

1.13.2 ἐν τούτωι φοράδην Χαρικλῆς ἐκομίζετο 'at this point Charicles appeared, borne on a stretcher', like the dying Hippolytus (cf. κομίζειν at *Hipp.* 1261, 1265), or Heracles at the end of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*. For this use of ἐν τούτωι see 1.3.5n. **θέαμα οἰκτιστον καὶ ἐλεεινόν:** more pointers towards tragic theatre. οἰκτιστον and ἐλεεινόν are in effect synonyms (cf. Phot. *Lex.* ο 108). **ὅλος . . . τραῦμα ἦν** 'he was all wound', 'he was one great

wound'; lit. 'all of him was wound' (predicative ὅλος: 1.1.5n.). **ἐξῆρχε . . . τοῦ θρήνου:** the father opens the lamentations, with a performance that seems to come across to Cl. as amusingly histrionic (as θρήνων ἅμιλλα at 1.14.1 hints; cf. Lucian's parody of parental lamentation at *On mourning* 13–15). Like the κωκυτός, the θρῆνος was historically associated with women, but in the course of the archaic period it came to be used more generally of mourning songs (Alexiou 2002 (1974): 102–8). The novelists use it of both genders without discrimination. ἐξάρχειν is the traditional word for leading off a lament, particularly in antiphony (Alexiou 2002 (1974): 131–2; cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.17, 24.747, 761). **οἷος ἀπ' ἐμοῦ προελθών, οἷος ἐπανέρχηι μοι** 'In what a state you were when you left me and went forth! In what a state you return to me!' Textbook lamentatory phrasing: cf. Men. Rhet. II 435.13 (and e.g. Pl. *Tht.* 142b). Alexiou 2002 (1974): 136–40 discusses the present sentence as an instance of a 'stylised *planctus*' (140). **ὦ πονηρῶν ἱππασμάτων** 'Oh wretched equitations!' ὦ + gen. is used in prose for exclamations (as distinct from ὦ + voc. in addresses). **κοινῶι** 'usual', 'common'. **μοι:** the ethic dat., used in laments to mark the speaker's deep emotional involvement: cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.749, 757, and tragic ἰὼ μοὶ μοι (Soph. *Aj.* 336, Eur. *Alc.* 862, *Med.* 97 etc.).

1.13.3 τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις . . . διασώζεται 'in the case of others who die, a trace at least (κἄν = καί) of what made them recognisable survives'. μέν is answered by δέ at the start of 1.13.4 (the second μέν–δέ construction, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν . . . ἐν δὲ τῶι σώματι, is embedded within this larger one). **κἂν τὸ ἄνθος . . . ἀπολέσηι** echoes Clinias' earlier plea to Charicles not to destroy his ἄνθος before time (by marrying: 1.8.9, with n.). κἄν = 'even if'. On the hybrid conditional construction (future protasis, present apodosis) see 1.11.3n.; here the condition is present in meaning. **τηρεῖ τὸ εἴδωλον** 'preserves the image' of youthful beauty. **παρηγορεῖ τὸ λυπούμενον καθεύδοντα μιμούμενος** 'assuages grief by giving the impression of sleep'. On A.'s fondness for substantive τό + part. see Intro. 4(d). **τηρεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον:** i.e. retains traces of the aspect of the living person.

1.13.4 ταῦτα: i.e. the integrity of the body and the consolation it offers. **μοι τέθνηκας θάνατον διπλοῦν** 'you have died – ah me! – a double death'. Having heard the expression here, Cl. will later recycle it in two of his own laments (5.7.8, 7.5.3). μοι is again the lamentatory ethic dat. (1.13.2n.). **σου τέθνηκε καὶ τῆς εἰκόνος ἡ σκιά** 'in your case (σου is emphatically positioned), the shadow of your likeness has died too'. τῆς εἰκόνος ἡ σκιά is somewhat pleonastic (Plato treats them as synonyms: *Rep.* 6.509e); see also 1.15.6, where σκιά means a mirror's 'reflection' (see n. *ad loc.*; also 2.8.2). **ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχή . . . ἐν τῶι σώματι:** the flight of

the soul (μέν) is to be expected; what is intolerable, however (δέ), is that Charicles has not left any trace of his former self even in his body.

1.13.5 πότε μοι, τέκνον . . . τῶν γάμων ὠιδαί: the father turns to the third and final part of the traditional lament, where the deceased is once more directly invoked (1.12–14n.). The theme is the substitution of funeral ritual for an anticipated marriage, a common equivalence especially in Attic tragedy (Rehm 1994). **νυμφίε . . . ἀτελές** evokes Protesilaus, the first Greek to die at Troy, a paradigm of tragic youthful death who left behind his wife tearing her cheeks in grief, together with a 'half-completed house' (δόμος ἡμιτελής, Hom. *Il.* 2.700–1). **θρῆνος δὲ ὁ ὑμέναιος, ὁ δὲ κωκυτὸς οὗτος τῶν γάμων ὠιδαί:** another element that Cl. will later recycle in one of his own laments for L. (3.10.5). The father self-reflexively describes this very lament (ὁ . . . κωκυτὸς οὗτος) as a substitute for wedding song, and there is indeed a musical quality to its cola, repetitions and rhymes:

πότε μοι, τέκνον, γαμεῖς /
πότε σου θύσω τοὺς γάμους /
ἱππεῦ καὶ **νυμφίε** /
νυμφίε μὲν ἀτελές /
ἱππεῦ δὲ δυστυχές /
τάφος μέν . . . ὁ θάλαμος /
γάμος δὲ ὁ θάνατος /
θρῆνος δὲ ὁ ὑμέναιος /
ὁ δὲ κωκυτὸς οὗτος τῶν γάμων ὠιδαί.

There are prose rhythms here too, particularly in the first two cola, which are almost isometric, and each of which concludes with the same canonical *clausula* (pattern b in the scheme described at Intro. 4(b)):

⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – / ⏑ ⏑ – – – – ⏑ –
πότε μοι, τέκνον, γαμεῖς / πότε σου θύσω τοὺς γάμους /

The final colon also concludes with one of the canonical *clausulae* ((d)).

1.13.6 ἄλλο . . . πῦρ 'a different kind of fire', i.e. he had hoped to be lighting torches for a wedding, not a funeral. **ἡ φθονερὰ Τύχη:** when things are going badly, novelistic characters imagine themselves to inhabit a world presided over not by the Olympians but by malign, ludic deities, principally Τύχη and an unnamed δαίμων, whether severally or in combination (4.9.7, 5.11.1, 6.13.1, 7.5.1, 8.4.4). The idea of 'grudging' divinity is ultimately Herodotean (cf. Hdt. 1.32.1, 3.40.2, 7.46.4). **ὦ πονηρᾶς ταύτης δαιδουχίας:** on this kind of invocation see 1.13.2n. **ταφή:** normally 'burial', but the context (esp. δαιδουχία) seems to suggest cremation (as at Soph. *El.* 1210).

1.14.1 οὖν: 1.12.1n. **καθ' αὑτὸν . . . θρήνων ἅμιλλα:** although there have been suggestions of antiphony (1.12–14n.), we now learn that Clinias has been conducting his own, separate lament. Cl.'s description of the pair as in 'competition' might suggest callous amusement. This speech is every bit as rhetorical as Charicles' father's, featuring homoioteleuton (ἐκαλλώπιζον . . . πονηρὸν θηρίον / προστερνιδίοις, προμετωπιδίοις, φαλάροις ἀργυροῖς, χρυσαῖς ἡνίαις / ἵππε . . . ἀγριώτατε, πονηρὲ καὶ ἀχάριστε καὶ ἀναίσθητε / ἱδρῶτας καὶ τροφὰς . . . πλείονας, etc.), word-play (τρυφή / τροφή) and the rhythmic clausula μου τῶι δώρωι τρυφῶν = pattern b, i.e. – – – – ⏑ –. **μου τὸν δεσπότην:** on the erotic language of mastery and slavery see Intro. 6(c). **ἀπολώλεκα:** either 'I have lost' or 'I have killed', a significant ambiguity (Clinias will go on to blame himself and the horse he bought for Charicles' death). **ἐχαριζόμην:** 1.7.1n. (cf. ἐχαριζόμην, ἀχάριστε at 1.14.2). **φιάλη . . . χρυσῆ:** a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 23.243, 253), much imitated by later poets. A φιάλη is a shallow, circular bowl often used (as Clinias anticipates here) for pouring libations. In the Iliadic passage, the golden φιάλη is a different kind of vessel used as a receptacle for the cremated remains of Patroclus (see 1.12.5n. on reminiscences of Patroclus' death in our passage). For golden cups as erotic gifts cf. Pind. *Ol.* 6.1–6; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.4.27. **ἵν' ἐσπένδετο . . . καὶ ἐχρῆτο:** on A.'s use of ἵνα + indic. or (more typically) subj. in result clauses see Intro. 4(d) and 1.7.4n. The indics. here are probably to be explained as extensions of the rhetorical question φιάλη . . . οὐκ ἦν χρυσῆ: 'was there no golden bowl that he could have used for libations while drinking . . . ?'

1.14.2 τὸ πονηρὸν θηρίον: this phrase will be recalled pointedly at 2.34.3 (Menelaus' account of the death of his beloved: see n.). **προστερνιδίοις . . . χρυσαῖς ἡνίαις** 'breast-plates, frontlets, cheek-pieces of silver, golden bits'. A. has drawn the catalogue from Char.'s description of accoutrements of the Persian King's horse (Char. 6.4.2). ἡνία usually means 'rein' or 'bridle', but three reasons suggest A. means 'bit': (i) a rein or a bridle should be made of leather or some other pliant material, not gold; (ii) A. has already used ῥυτήρ / ῥυτῆρες of the reins (1.12.2, 1.12.6); (iii) Char.'s list of the same elements has χαλινός in this position. On A.'s apparent confusion over equestrian terms see 1.1.10n. **πονηρὲ καὶ ἀχάριστε** 'wretched ingrate', a hendiadys perhaps inspired by Dem. *De Cor.* 131. **ἀναίσθητε κάλλους** 'insensitive to beauty'.

1.14.3 τροφὰς ἐπηγγέλλετο πλείονας 'promised you more feed'. **σὺ δέ**: accusatory. As so often in speeches of recrimination, the cruel behaviour of the addressee is underlined by contrast with others' beneficence (cf. 5.13.3–6). **οὐχ . . . οὐκ:** the anaphora rhetorically emphasises the long list of the

horse's malefactions. **οὐχ ἥδου προσαπτομένου σου τοιούτου σώματος** 'you took no pleasure in a body like that touching you'. προσαπτομένου . . . τοιούτου σώματος is gen. absolute, dependent on ἥδομαι as if it were a ὅτι clause (LSJ ἥδομαι 6). **ἐγὼ δέ σου:** Clinias now apostrophises Charicles once more. **ἀνδροφόνον:** synonymous with φονέα, but not superfluous; the Iliadic origin of this word (though it is adjectival in Homer) enhances the aura of tragic young death (1.12.5n.). **ἐωνησάμην** = Attic ἐπριάμην.

1.15–19: The Park

The book closes with Cl. meeting L. in the park (*paradeisos*), apparently a larger cultivated space separate from the house. Here he gets the opportunity to put into practice the seductive techniques taught him by Clinias: in particular, he speaks only indirectly about sex (following Clinias' advice at 1.10.2–3), discoursing instead rhetorically about love in the natural world. These disquisitions are inspired by chance events in the natural world: the park is seen as a place of spontaneity and freedom. It is also, however, framed by human construction, bounded as it is by a wall and colonnaded walkway (see in general Intro. 5(a) on gardens). The combination of the spring and the artificial (χειροποίητος) channel at 1.15.6 and the mixture of tame and wild birds at 1.15.7 capture this blend of the natural and the cultural. Correspondingly, Cl.'s orations, though presented as a response to the peacock's fanning of its tail, are deliberately contrived: influenced by rhetoric (Miguélez Cavero 2010: 266–70), and in particular by the rhetorical genre of the prose *epithalamium* (1.17–19n.), they have an 'underlying intention' (ὑπόθεσις) that the slave Satyrus immediately grasps (1.17.1n.). Like the peacock, who fans his tail to seduce the hen (1.16.2 with n.), Cl. engages in rhetorical display in an attempt to impress L. She too appears to understand the rules of this game – or at least so Cl. surmises (she herself says nothing) (1.19.1n.).

The narrative presentation of the episode is equally carefully managed: the natural-historical accounts of 1.16–18 are ringed by ecphrastic descriptions of the park in 1.15 and 1.19.1. The description of the contents of the park is carefully controlled: trees and climbers are distinguished from flowers, tame birds are distinguished from wild ones; and these polarities are articulated in balanced clauses coordinated by μέν and δέ. The flowers are symbolic of youthful beauty (1.15.5n., 1.19.1n.), picking up the idea of Charicles' ἄνθος (1.8.9n., 1.13.3n.); L. too shares in the floral nature of the park (1.19.1n.), and is even said to have a 'meadow on her face' (1.19.2n.). Similarly, the peacock is said to have 'flowers' and a 'meadow' on its plumage (1.16.3; 1.15.8n.). The description of foliage is sexualised (1.15.2n.), suggesting both that Cl.'s choice of descriptive

language is dictated by his own preoccupations (cf. the descriptive preferences of the ἐρωτικός narrator at 1.2.1) and that the seductive strategy he employs has infiltrated his descriptions.

The line between the worlds of nature and of human society is blurred in this episode: this theme culminates in the book's closing chapter (1.19), where the description of L.'s beauty merges with that of the environment (Intro. 5(b)). The description of the trees and plants in the park displays numerous points of overlap with the frame-narrator's ecphrasis of the painting of Europa (see nn. below), and Cl.'s performance before L. echoes his performance before the frame-narrator (1.19.1n.; de Temmerman 2009 and Intro. 4(c)). There is a self-conscious 'constructedness' to Cl.'s description of the scene: the use of γραφ- roots at 1.15.6 and 1.15.7 further emphasises the links to the Europa ecphrasis, and stresses the 'graphic' nature of the park (see nn. *ad loc.*), while the description of the water as a 'mirror' of the grove toys explicitly with the opposition between truth and imitation (1.15.6, with n.). Throughout the episode, the real and the metaphorical become interfused thanks to Cl.'s erotic delirium (Mignogna 1995). This mingling of the literal and the metaphorical is often articulated through syzygic affirmations (Intro. 4(b)). Two more characters are introduced into the narrative at this stage, the slaves Satyrus and Clio: both will play important roles, but (presumably because their status makes them less than full participants in the narrative: Intro. 6(c)), they do not receive any kind of preamble.

1.15.1 Μετὰ . . . τὴν ταφήν: the funeral is passed over quickly. Pearcy 1978 posits a lacuna here, judging the scene-shift to be over-hasty (indeed, we might contrast Long. 1.32.1, where the same phrase is used after a funeral that *has* been fully described). But Cl.'s narrative haste is a symptom of his urgent desire to see L. (cf. ἔσπευδον), and contributes to the characterisation of him as insensitive and impatient when it comes to the affairs of others (cf. 1.14.1n., on θρήνων ἅμιλλα; also 2.18.6n. on ἀνέπνευσα μέν κτλ.). **ἐπί** 'in search of'. **τῶι παραδείσωι τῆς οἰκίας:** the house has a παράδεισος attached to it. The word, which is Persian in origin, usually suggests a large park for hunting and leisure (e.g. Char. 4.2.8, Dio Chr. 3.137, Long. 4.2–3), but this seems to be a smaller-scale private pleasure garden. τῆς οἰκίας suggests it adjoins the house complex (Intro. 5(a)). **ἄλσος**: a beautiful natural location, not necessarily a place of dedicated religious worship (1.2.3n.). **μέγα τι χρῆμα:** 'a sizeable thing', a phrase found commonly in the romances and elsewhere (Bergson 1967), though only here in A. The tone is simultaneously informal and sophisticated. Long.'s description of his own παράδεισος as a πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα (4.2.1) may allude to A.'s phrase (or vice versa). **αὔταρκες εἰς ὕψος** 'high enough',

'pretty high'. The primary meaning of αὐτάρκης is 'self-sufficient', but by A.'s time it had come to be used in this blander sense. The wall echoes that surrounding the meadow in the Europa ecphrasis (1.1.5): both mark human intervention in and bounding of the natural landscape. **πλευρὰ . . . πλευραί:** the metaphor ('rib', 'flank' of a body, any kind of 'side') is not uncommonly applied to architecture and material forms. There are echoes of the opening scenes of the novel (cf. πλευρά of the coast of Sidon at 1.1.1; also of the bull at 1.1.10). **τειχίου:** the omission of the definite article is a poeticism (Intro. 4(d)). **κατάστεγος ὑπὸ χορῶι κιόνων:** i.e. κατεστέγετο (though the compound καταστέγω is not in fact found) ὑπὸ χοροῦ κιόνων. ὑπό + dat. is a periphrastic extension of the instrumental dat., a usage found elsewhere in later Greek (LSJ B.II.4). **χορῶι κιόνων . . . δένδρων πανήγυρις:** the metaphors become more elaborate as Cl. hits his rhetorical stride. The reminiscences of the Europa ecphrasis intensify too: χορῶι recalls the χορὸς παρθένων at 1.1.3; δένδρων πανήγυρις recalls δένδρων . . . φάλαγξ καὶ φυτῶν, 1.1.3.

1.15.2 ἔθαλλον . . . φυτῶν: more, and more pronounced, echoes of the Europa ecphrasis. Cf.:

> ἔθαλλον οἱ κλάδοι, συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλον· γείτονες αἱ τῶν πετάλων περιπλοκαί, τῶν φύλλων περιβολαί, τῶν καρπῶν συμπλοκαί. τοσαύτη τις ἦν ὁμιλία τῶν φυτῶν. (1.15.2)

and

> ἐκόμα πολλοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὁ λειμών· δένδρων αὐτοῖς ἀνεμέμικτο φάλαγξ καὶ φυτῶν. συνεχῆ τὰ δένδρα· συνηρεφῆ τὰ πέταλα· συνῆπτον οἱ πτόρθοι τὰ φύλλα, καὶ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὄροφος ἡ τῶν φύλλων συμπλοκή. (1.1.3)

Notable points of contact are: (i) the use of συν- compounds, single-underlined above (varied at 1.15.2, by the addition of two περι- compounds), and in particular the word συμπλοκή (used in a directly sexual sense at 1.9.5 and 1.17.5); (ii) the botanical terms φυτά / πέταλα / φύλλα (double-underlined); (iii) the general eroticisation of the landscape, to which the συν- compounds and particularly συμπλοκή point; this is most forcefully expressed in ἀνεμέμικτο at 1.1.3 and in περιβολαί (περιβολή = 'embrace') and ὁμιλία at 1.15.2. **συνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοις ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλον** 'they tumbled on top of one another', the pleonastic phrasing capturing the disordered exuberance of the foliage. **γείτονες:** adjectival, with ellipsis of ἦσαν. The proximity of the botanical features is expressed stylistically: the three elements are presented in parallel (τῶν + disyllabic neut. plur., nom. fem. plur. of a first-declension compound noun), in asyndeton and collectively governed by a single αἱ. **τοσαύτη τις ἦν ὁμιλία**

τῶν φυτῶν 'so great was this mingling of plants'. τις is closely attached to the adj., and redundant in meaning (cf. 2.29.1, 2.32.2; O'Sullivan τις 6).

1.15.3 κιττὸς καὶ σμῖλαξ: common features in idealised Greek topographies, and indeed clichés in the eyes of some (Plut. *Mor.* 749a). They are sometimes linked with Dionysus (e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 105–10, Philostr. *Imag.* 2.17.7), although here that association seems at best subtle. The name 'smilax' (in modern botany a genus with hundreds of species) was used in Greek antiquity of several biologically distinct plants; A. is probably thinking here of sarsaparilla (*Smilax aspera*). **ἡ μέν:** the smilax. This sentence has no main verb: the parts. ἐξηρτημένη . . . καὶ περιπυκάζουσα are in effect adjs. with ellipsis of ἦν (cf. 1.1.9n.). **πλατάνου:** an echo both of the grove where the frame-narrator leads Cl. and of Plato's famous topographical description in the *Phaedrus* (1.2.3, with n.). **περιπυκάζουσα ῥαδινῆι τῆι κόμηι** 'clustering thickly around the delicate foliage'. **ὡικειοῦτο τὸ δένδρον ταῖς περιπλοκαῖς** 'assimilated the tree to its circular lattices'. Thick ivy does indeed take on the appearance of wood. **ὄχημα . . . στέφανος:** the two plants reciprocally enhance each other, an interdependence expressed metaphorically with syntactic parallelism. The image is that of an athletic victor riding in a chariot (ὄχημα) and wearing a victory wreath.

1.15.4 ἄμπελοι . . . ἔθαλλον 'there were vines too, supported by canes on either side of the tree, their leaves abundant'. ἑκατέρωθεν is commonly used in all Greek as the equivalent of ἑκάτερθε (i.e. without the separative force implied by -θεν); in any case, A. is generally loose in his use of locative suffixes (Intro. 4(d)). Like ivy and smilax, the vine may carry some distant Dionysiac connotations (cf. 2.2–3). **ὁ καρπὸς ὡραίαν εἶχε τὴν ἄνθην** 'the fruit's bloom was ripe', i.e. 'the fruit was burgeoning and ripe' (ὡραίαν is predicative). The harvest festival celebrating the picking of the mature grapes is described at 2.2–3. A. perhaps alludes to Pl. *Phdr.* 230b, where the famous plane tree ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς ἄνθης. **διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς τῶν καλάμων ἐξεκρέματο** 'dangled through the gaps between the canes', which are imagined as latticed. **ἦν βόστρυχος τοῦ φυτοῦ** 'was a lock of plant's hair', a syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)). βόστρυχος, 'curl', is a common metaphor for the tendrils of plants, particularly vines; the use here in relation to the fruit itself (βότρυς, etymologically linked) is unusual. **τῶν δὲ φύλλων . . . τὴν σκιάν** 'As the leaves swayed in the wind on high beneath the sun, the earth's shimmering shadows were pale and mottled'. ἐμάρμαιρεν takes τὴν σκιάν as an internal object (cf. ναρκίσσου . . . ἔστιλβε χροιάν, 1.19.1; ἴον . . . ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμάρμαιρεν αὐγή, 1.19.1). The adjectival phrase συμμιγῆ <καὶ> ὠχράν (borrowing from Pl. *Phdr.* 239c συμμιγεῖ σκιᾶι) is predicative. This description of sunlight making shadowy patterns on the ground recalls the ecphrasis of Europa (1.1.4).

1.15.5 τὴν χροιάν: χροιά is here 'colour', but its secondary meaning 'skin' facilitates the later analogy with L.'s beauty (cf. 1.19.1). **ἐν μέρει συνεξέφαινε τὸ κάλλος:** they radiate their beauty both collectively (συν-) and severally (ἐν μέρει). This combination of aesthetic unity and diversity embodies the ideal of ποικιλία (cf. ποικίλην . . . χροιάν; see Intro. 2(b), 4(b)). **<ἴον> (καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς γῆς πορφύρα)** 'the violet (and this was the earth's purple)'. A violet is required alongside the narcissus and rose to complete the catalogue (cf. 1.15.6, 1.19.1). The best position for it is before καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς γῆς πορφύρα, which will then assume the form of a syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)): purple normally derives from the sea (2.11.4–8n.); but this flower is 'the purple *of the earth*'. Other syzygic affirmations are similarly phrased: cf. esp. 1.15.8 καὶ ἦν ἄνθη πτερῶν and 1.16.3 καὶ ἔστιν ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν τῶι πτερῶι. **μία . . . ἡ κάλυξ ὅσον εἰς περιγραφήν** 'their calyxes were identical in respect of the outline'. περιγραφή (literally 'drawing around'; cf. also 1.15.6, 2.1.3) is a term borrowed from painting, a particularly suggestive association given the pictorial nature of the description (and the many points of connection with the painting of Europa at 1.1). **ἦν φιάλη τοῦ φυτοῦ:** another syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)). A φιάλη is a broad, flat, sympotic drinking vessel (1.14.1n.). There may be a hint here that A. knew Latin: Greek κάλυξ (a flower's calyx) and κύλιξ (drinking cup) were never confused, but the Latin homophones *calyx* (= κάλυξ) and *calix* (= κύλιξ) often were (*TLL calyx*). **ἡ χροιὰ . . . τοῦ φύλλου** 'The colour of the rose's petals where they had parted around the calyx was that of blood, and of milk in the inner part of the petal'. Some roses of the modern variety *osiria* have this appearance. The description of the rose's calyx is eroticised implicitly here, and explicitly at 2.1.3 (see n.). **[ἴων]** is unintelligible and should be deleted; it may have originated as the ἴον displaced from earlier in this section of the chapter. **ὁ νάρκισσος ἦν τὸ πᾶν ὅμοιος τῶι κάτω τοῦ ῥόδου:** it cannot be assumed that the ancient and modern categories of 'narcissus' align, or even that A. had precise knowledge of flower types; but for what it is worth some varieties of narcissus (e.g. *Narcissus papyraceus*) are indeed completely white.

1.15.6 τῶι <δ'> ἴωι κάλυξ μὲν οὐδαμοῦ: the petals of the violet usually splay out, making a relatively flat surface, so there is in effect no calyx (< καλύπτω). **χροιὰ δὲ οἵαν . . . ἀστράπτει γαλήνη** 'while its colour shone forth like that of a serene sea' (lit.: 'while its colour was such as the calm of the sea shines out'). **πηγὴ ἀνέβλυζε** picks up ὕδωρ . . . ἀναβλύζον in the Europa ecphrasis at 1.1.5. **περιεγέγραπτο τετράγωνος χαράδρα χειροποίητος τῶι ῥεύματι** 'an artificial, four-sided basin for the stream had been carved around it', an impressive-sounding clause containing a phonetic echo of -εγέγραπτο in τετράγωνος, alliteration of χ, homoioteleuton (-ος) and a spondaic *clausula* (pattern g, allowing for final *brevis in longo*: Intro. 4(d)).

περιεγέγραπτο (echoing περιγραφήν at 1.15.5) and χειροποίητος hint at pictorial art, and contribute to the impression of a tableau (thus reinforcing the connection between this scene and the Europa ecphrasis). **τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ . . . τῆς σκιᾶς:** the park is visually doubled, thanks to the reflection in the water. A. has in mind Plato's simile of the divided line (*Rep.* 6.509d–11e), where visible and intelligent things are divided into four categories, ranging from the absolute truth (the forms) to reflective 'images' (εἰκόνες), a category that comprises shadows (σκιαί) and reflections in water (τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι φαντάσματα) and in other compacted, polished surfaces (510a). Whereas Plato denigrates reflections for their lack of approximation to the truth, A. revels in the mimetic, celebrating the power of artifice (Mignogna 1995). The gens. τῆς ἀληθείας . . . τῆς σκιᾶς are of quality (Smyth §1320), i.e. 'consisting in'. On κάτοπτρον see 1.1.11n.

1.15.7 οἱ μὲν χειροήθεις . . . οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθερον ἔχοντες τὸ πτερόν: like the grove itself, the birds come in two forms, distinguished syntactically by μέν–δέ. This separation of 'tame' and 'free' birds marks the polarity between human culture and nature, presenting the park as a hybrid space combining both (Intro. 5(b)). It also suggests that domestic space should be understood in terms of an opposition between liberated expression on the one hand (the free birds sing and 'play' (ἔπαιζον) in the tree-tops), and restriction and social control on the other (the tame birds graze dutifully below, while the parrot sits in its cage). Classical Greek vase paintings tend to depict larger birds as pets: chicken, swans (as here), ducks, geese (like Penelope's in the *Odyssey*), quail, partridges, herons; in the Hellenistic and Roman eras we hear too of sparrows (like the *deliciae* of Catullus' Lesbia), parrots (as here), nightingales, ravens, pigeons, peacocks (as here) and doves (Lazenby 1949: 249–50, 299–301). **οὓς ἐκολάκευον αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τροφαί** 'enticed by human feeding', a mild paradox (a κόλαξ or flatterer usually takes food rather than providing it). **ἐλεύθερον ἔχοντες τὸ πτερόν** 'free of wing', although in fact among the other, tame birds only the parrot is caged. **τὰ ὀρνίθων ἄισματα** 'birdsongs' (possessive gen.); also, as will become clear at 1.15.8, 'songs about birds' (objective gen.). Cl. imagines the birds, poetically, as former humans whose songs record their metamorphoses. **τῇι τῶν πτερῶν . . . στολῆι:** 'their feathery garments' (στολή always means 'clothing' in *L&C*: cf. 1.4.1, 3.21.2, 6.1.3, etc.).

1.15.8 οἱ ὠιδοὶ δὲ . . . οἱ δὲ χειροήθεις: Cl. now lists the members of each category, the singers (i.e. the 'free') and the tame. Supply ἦσαν throughout. **οἱ ὠιδοί** 'the singers', i.e. οἱ μέν of the previous sentence. **τέττιγες:** Greeks sometimes classified cicadas as songbirds (cf. Ael. *DNA* 6.19). In reality, cicadas are unlikely to be found at the very peaks of trees: they feed on the

sappy bark nearer the base. **τὴν Ἠοῦς . . . εὐνήν:** according to myth, Eos (Dawn) abducted the handsome Trojan youth Tithonus, who was granted immortality but not eternal youth, so that he withered into decrepitude; according to some versions he was metamorphosed into a cicada (e.g. Hellanicus *BNJ* 4 F 140). **τὴν Τηρέως τράπεζαν:** for the story see 1.8.4n., and 5.3–5. Philomela became a nightingale and Procne a swallow (or vice versa in some versions), and Tereus a hoopoe. τράπεζα is metonymic (= 'meal'), as at 1.8.4 and 1.10.1. **ὁ ψιττακὸς ἐν οἰκίσκωι περὶ δένδρον κρεμάμενος:** the caged parrot is an image of restriction of expression (as in Crinagoras' famous epigram: *Anth. Pal.* 9.562, with Whitmarsh 2013: 152–3; cf. Mart. 14.73). οἰκίσκωι indicates that the cage might be seen as an image for the οἶκος that Cl. inhabits, together with all the constraints that it imposes. **ὁ ταὼς . . . τὸ πτερόν** 'the peacock trailing its feathers over the flowers'. The bird is at this stage not yet spreading its fan. Ecphraseis of peacocks are common in the era: see Dio Chr. 12.2–5, Ael. *DNA* 5.21, Luc. *De domo* 11, Proclus of Naucratis *ap.* Philostr. *VS* 617. On the declension of ταώς see Intro. 4(d). **ἀντέλαμπε** 'offered a radiant counterpart to'. **ἦν ἄνθη πτερῶν** 'it was an efflorescence of feathers', a characteristically Achillean syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)) assimilating the bird to its environment and blurring the line between the two. ἄνθη could be either the plur. of ἄνθος or – better (cf. Philostr. *Her.* 40.5) – the fem. sing. noun (ἄνθη = 'bloom', as at 1.15.4). The comparison between the peacock's fan and a flowery meadow is found in other contemporary writers (ps.-Dionysius, *Ixeuticon* 1.28.2, Luc. *De domo* 11, Philostr. *Her.* 40.5; see further 1.16.3, with n.).

1.16.1 εὐάγωγον . . . εἰς ἔρωτα παρασκευάσαι 'tame her with a view to love'. Cl. puts Clinias' advice into practice, borrowing his image of the domestication of animals (εὐάγωγον αὐτὴν κατασκευάσας, 1.10.5 with n.). **τὸν Σάτυρον . . . τῆι Κλειοῖ:** Satyrus and Clio, two slaves who will be central to the intrigue of Book 2, are introduced without notice. Slaves are assumed not to need formal announcement. The use of the definite article with a proper noun is no indication (as it would be in classical Greek: Smyth §§1120b, 1136) that readers are expected to know the character in question (Sexauer 1899: 26). On these names see Intro. 3(a). **ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρνιθος λαβὼν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν** 'seizing the excellent opportunity supplied by the bird'. The park is a place of improvisations and adventitious happenings. **διαβαδίζουσα:** 1.6.6n. δια- implies walking *by* or *past* (as at 2.7.1). **ἔτυχεν:** the theme of serendipitous chance is heavily emphasised in this episode.

1.16.2 ἔτυχε . . . τύχηι τινὶ συμβάν 'it happened by some happenstance that . . .' **τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐπιδεικνύναι τῶν πτερῶν** 'showcase the

beautiful spectacle (τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ θέατρον, hendiadys) of his feathers'. θέατρον ('theatre', 'spectacle') and ἐπιδεικνύναι ('make a display of', as in sophistic *epideixis*) suggest the analogy with the ostentatious performance of learning. A. borrows from Dio Chrysostom's comparison of a sophist to a peacock ἐπιδεικνύντα τὸ κάλλος τῶν πτερῶν . . . ὥσπερ εὐειδὲς θέατρον (Dio Chr. 12.2–5, at 2). **οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης** 'not without design', a litotes that sounds a slightly smug note of intellectual sophistication. The learned manoeuvre consists in delving beneath the impression of apparent arbitrariness (ἔτυχε . . . τύχηι τινὶ συμβάν) in the peacock's actions and exposing its hidden τέχνη. Analogously, of course, behind Cl.'s seemingly spontaneous outburst lies the hidden τέχνη of Clinias' seduction advice. **ἀλλ'. . . γάρ** 'Quite the contrary! For . . . '. **ἐρωτικός** 'amorous', or 'erotically expert' (cf. 1.2.1n.). **ἐπαγαγέσθαι** 'win over'. Analogously, Cl. is attempting to render L. εὐάγωγος (1.16.1). **καλλωπίζεται** 'adorns himself', another word associated with sophists (cf. esp. καλλωπιζόμενον at Dio Chr. 12.3; also Plut. *De Pyth.* 408c, Ael. Ar. 4.464, Sext. Emp. *Math.* 2.55 etc.).

1.16.3 τῆς πλατάνου: 1.15.3n. **τὸ κάλλος ἐπιδείκνυται, λειμῶνα πτερῶν:** ἐπιδείκνυται reemphasises the sophistic analogy, and λειμῶνα the links between the peacock's plumage and the surrounding flora. As transmitted, λειμῶνα πτερῶν stands in apposition to τὸ κάλλος, and the omission of the article must be counted a poeticism (cf. 1.15.1n.). But perhaps we should read . . . ἐπιδείκνυται τῶν πτερῶν (cf. 1.16.2 τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἐπιδεικνύναι τῶν πτερῶν). A corruption to λειμῶνα could have been introduced when a scribe's eye slipped to the next sentence. **εὐανθέστερος:** as the following sentence makes clear, the cock's plumage is more florid *than the female*'s (i.e. not *than the real meadow's*). **πεφύτευται . . . τὸν ἴσον κύκλον** 'for in his case gold has been planted in a circle on his feathers, and the purple runs its concentric (ἴσον) circle around the gold'. περιθέει governs a double acc.: both τὸν ἴσον κύκλον ('the acc. of the way' (1.8.11n.), describing the course of the purple ring) and τὸν χρυσόν (direct object, i.e. the gold ring around which the purple one runs). Transposition of transmitted δὲ τό (and repunctuating accordingly) yields better sense for the sentence as a whole. **τὸ . . . ἁλουργές:** a reminder of the Phoenicians' most famous export, the purple dye that comes from the sea (2.11.4–8n.). **ἔστιν ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν τῶι πτερῶι** 'it forms an eye on the plumage', a mild syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)). The circular markings on the peacock's train are an evolutionary adaptation called an eyespot or ocellus, mimicking the appearance of a large eye (both to confuse potential predators and to appeal to potential mates). Given the close identification between the peacock and the seducer Cl., the image of the eye

reinforces the general association between male sexuality and the gaze in the romance as a whole (Morales 2004: 140–1; Intro. 6(a)).

1.17–19 Having spoken of the peacock, Cl. now expatiates on four examples of desire in the non-human realm: the magnet, the date-palm, the spring Arethusa and the river Alpheius, and the viper and the eel. These discourses are strikingly odd in their presentations of sexual roles, at least in comparison with normative Greek ideas (Intro. 6(a)). In the cases of the magnet and the date-palm, the females take the dominant role; in the case of the eel and the viper, the male spitting out of the poison suggests the ejaculation of a human male prior to a non-penetrative encounter. It is likely that A. derived these paradigms from an ἐπιθαλάμιος, a speech given on the occasion of a marriage, and the overall framework from the genre as a whole (Laplace 2007: 181–91). This section may thus be seen as a counterpoint to Clinias' declamation against marriage at 1.8.1–9. Cl.'s use of nuptial terminology to describe these natural unions is a noticeable feature (1.17.5, 1.18.1, 1.18.4; cf. νυμφοστολεῖ, 1.18.2, τὸν νυμφίον, 1.18.4, τῆς νύμφης, 1.18.5). Menander Rhetor recommends that the orator due to deliver such a speech should incorporate stories of non-human love; Alpheius and Arethusa and the mating of trees are specifically offered as illustrations of the principle (II.401.26–402.20; cf. ps.-Dion. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* 2.3; see 1.17.1n. for a precise echo of Menander). There are a number of further parallels in later epithalamial orators (Rommel 1923: 64–73). But if A.'s readers detected the parallel with the genre of marriage speech, they would also have noted the very different use to which Cl. puts these *topoi*: not the praise of legitimate marriage but attempted seduction outside of wedlock. Ps.-Dionysius advises his orator to contrast the 'simple and arbitrary' (ἁπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν) nature of non-human copulation with the 'orderly law of marriage' (τάξιν τινὰ καὶ νόμον . . . τοῦ γάμου) among humans (*Ars Rhet.* 2.3); Cl., by contrast, implicitly presents free sexual expression in the natural world as a paradigm for human emulation.

1.17.1 συνεὶς τοῦ λόγου μου τὴν ὑπόθεσιν 'grasping the theme of my discourse'. In rhetorical theory, the ὑπόθεσις of a speech is its overall subject. There is here an additional connotation of a 'hidden message', something literally 'placed beneath' the surface of the discourse: cf. συνεὶς . . . ὁ Σάτυρος τὸ ὕπουλον αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων, 2.21.5 (with n.). L. is similarly said to grasp implicit messages at 2.6.3 and 2.7.6; see also Intro. 4(b). **εἶη** = ἐξείη. **ἦ γάρ** 'is it the case, then, that . . .?' (LSJ ἦ II.1.a; Denniston 284–5). **ὁ Ἔρως . . . τοσαύτην ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν:** mirroring the frame-narrator's response to the Europa ecphrasis (οἷον . . . ἄρχει βρέφος, 1.2.1: see n.). Eros' power is such as to reach beyond the human realm. **οὐ μέχρις ὀρνίθων:** understand μόνον

after οὐ (cf. ἀλλὰ καί below). The phrasing is strikingly close to Menander Rhetor's advice on how to introduce the natural-historical section of the *epithalamium*: 'Nor should you stop here (οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτων στήσηι): you must show how the god touches even (μέχρι . . . διικνεῖται) streams and rivers, creatures that swim and those of the land and of the air' (II. 401.26–8, tr. Russell and Wilson). See 1.17–19n. on the epithalamial flavour of Cl.'s discourses. **ἑρπετῶν καὶ φυτῶν . . . καὶ λίθων:** like an expert orator, Cl. concludes his tricolon with the most powerful (i.e. in this case the most θαυμαστός) example – tactically delayed, for effect, by the parenthesis. In fact Cl. will proceed to use four rather than three examples of non-human ἔρως (including also the story of Arethusa and Alpheus).

1.17.2 This section covers the magnet, a source of endless fascination for the ancients (Radl 1988). The name 'Magnesian stone' may have been coined by Euripides (fr. 567 *TGrF*; Pl. *Ion* 533d); it no doubt derives from an association with one of the several places called Magnesia (rather than, as Nicander fr. 101 Gow–Page suggests, with an individual called Magnes). The comparison of magnetic to erotic attraction is already found in Hellenistic erotic poetry (*Anth. Pal.* 12.152), but gained popularity in the Roman era (Luc. *Imag.* 1 is probably slightly later than A.; late antique parallels are collected by Rommel 1923: 67–8). λίθος, usually masc., becomes fem. when it refers to a specific mineral. **γοῦν** 'for example'. **κἂν μόνον ἴδηι καὶ θίγηι:** 'it only has to see and touch (the iron) and . . .' κἄν = ἐάν, virtually equivalent to ὁπόταν. The attribution of the faculty of vision to the magnet is a striking anthropomorphism. **ἐρωτικὸν . . . πῦρ:** erotic passion is imagined to be transmitted by the desirous subject rather than experienced by the recipient. **καὶ μή τι τοῦτό ἐστιν . . . φίλημα** 'and is this not a kind of (τι: 1.6.4n.) kiss between the desirous magnet and the desired iron?' A syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)), which questions the boundary between metaphor and reality. Do magnets really kiss? Or is this an anthropomorphic projection? In classical prose μή usually introduces a direct question expecting the answer 'no' (i.e. 'surely not': Smyth §2651b), but here the expected answer must be 'yes' (classical οὐ). On the importance of kisses in *L&C* see Fountoulakis 2001; Zeitlin 2018. **ἐρώσης λίθου καὶ ἐρωμένου σιδήρου:** in this erotic scenario, the female is the desiring subject, and the male the object.

1.17.3–5 That the date-palm is dioecious, i.e. individual adults are wholly either female or male, was recognised by Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 2.6.6, *De Caus. Plant.* 2.9.5, 3.18.1 etc.), and was surely known from the earliest period of its cultivation (date culture is attested in Mesopotamia from at least 3000 BCE, and it spread quickly across the Mediterranean: Chao and Krueger 2007). The tree was grown across north Africa, the eastern Mediterranean

and the middle east (including the Phoenician territories). It is already an erotic *comparandum* at Hom. *Od.* 6.163. Cl. exploits the homonymy of φοῖνιξ = 'palm' and Φοῖνιξ = 'Phoenician', attempting to plant in L.'s mind the idea of a desirous *Phoinix*. (Another erotic φοῖνιξ is described at 3.35: the phoenix-bird.) Philostr. *Imag.* 1.9.6 seems to allude to this passage.

1.17.3 περὶ . . . φυτῶν: introducing a new topic. περί phrases are commonly found for titles of books, speeches etc. (Schmalzriedt 1970). **παῖδες σοφῶν:** a periphrasis for σοφοί (cf. Dio Chr. 36.56, Ael. *VH* 3.1, Menander Rhetor II.438 etc.). **μῦθον** 'a fable', as opposed to a true story (1.2.2n.). **παῖδες . . . γεωργῶν:** again periphrastic. **ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου . . . μᾶλλον ἐνοχλεῖν** 'there are many instances of one plant desiring another; but it is for the date-palm that desire causes particular trouble'. The acc. + inf. is dependent on ὁ . . . λόγος. On the inclusive use of ἄλλος see 1.2.1n. **τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα τῶν φοινίκων, τὸν δὲ θῆλυν:** sing. for plur., i.e. 'some date-palms are male, some female'.

1.17.4 κἂν ὁ θῆλυς . . . φυτείας στάσει 'and if the female has been posted elsewhere thanks to the location of its planting'. The separation of the plants is imagined as a kind of overseas colonial expedition, with the female as the traveller abroad and the male as the homebound partner. **τὴν τοῦ χωρίου περιωπήν** 'a place overlooking the spot' where the female has been planted.

1.17.5 πτόρθον . . . τοῦ θήλεος . . . καρδίαν ἐντίθησι: not grafting (i.e. splicing a shoot from one tree into the trunk of another, which is ineffective for date-palms: Rajan and Markose 2007: 44), but artificial pollination, a technique for increasing the fruit yield. In fact the process involves removing the male spathe and placing it inside the female crown, not (as here) the other way round. **ἀνέψυξε μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ . . . καὶ ἐξανέστη:** a complex sentence involving three pairs of interlaced polarities: soul and body, cold (ἀνέψυξε) and warmth (ἀνεζωπύρησε), death (ἀποθνῄσκον) and resurrection (ἐξανέστη). Cl. puns on ψύχειν = 'to cool' (hence ἀναψύχειν = 'be refreshed') and ψυχή = 'soul' (which derives etymologically from unrelated ψύχειν = 'breathe': see Chantraine ψυχή). These and the following aors. are gnomic. **συμπλοκῆι:** 1.15.2n. **καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι γάμος φυτῶν:** a syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)), raising the question how sharply differentiated are human and non-human behaviour. Some ancient writers argued that the word γάμος is appropriate to all fields of the natural world. See e.g. Himerius 9.8: 'Gamos (i.e. the personification of Marriage) gave plants over to plants, rivers to streams, hail and rain to the earth, the Nile to Egypt – in a word, the male to the female' (tr. Penella). On epithalamia see further 1.17–19n.

1.18.1 ποταμὸς Ἠλεῖος . . . κρήνη Σικελική: Alpheius, the longest river in the Peloponnese (running through Elis and Arcadia) and Arethusa, the freshwater spring by the west coast of Syracusan Ortygia (on Sicily). There are broadly two versions of this well-known story. In one, Alpheus is a potential rapist whom Arethusa flees, making her way to Sicily, where she metamorphoses into a spring (Ov. *Met.* 5.573–641; cf. Paus. 5.7.2). In the other, reflected here, they are watery lovers who mingle consensually (Moschus fr. 3 Hopkinson; Virg. *Aen.* 3.694–6; Ov. *Am.* 3.6.29–30; Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 3; Lib. *Prog.* 3; more generally on the variants see Holland 1888: 393–9). Menander Rhetor recommends the use of this story (presumably the latter version) in *epithalamia* (II. 401–2; 1.17–19n.).

1.18.2 ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἀφανίζει . . . αὐτῶι ῥέοντι 'and it (the sea) does not destroy the sweet lover in its salty wave, but parts for him as he flows'. The description of the river's current is perhaps suggestive of ejaculation. **χαράδρα** recalls the man-made χαράδρα around the park's spring, at 1.15.6. **νυμφοστολεῖ** 'escorts the bride', as a *kurios* (guardian, usually her father) would in a wedding. This rare verb is found first (outside of Jewish literature) in A., and next – notably – in Leo's or Photius' epigram on *L&C* (*Anth. Gr.* 9.203.10: see Intro. 2(b)). **τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἑορτή:** the river Alpheus runs through Elis, where the games were held. **πολλοὶ μὲν . . . ἄλλα δῶρα:** 'many people release all kinds of gifts into the river's eddies'. Since rivers were deities, sacrifices and other dedications could be sunk into them (*BNP* 'River gods'). The river's transport of objects from Elis to Ortygia is alleged elsewhere (Antigonus 140 *PGrR*). **κομίζει:** supply αὐτά (the gifts). **ταῦτά ἐστιν ἕδνα ποταμοῦ:** another syzygic affirmation. A. uses the technical term ἕδνον accurately: in contrast to a dowry (προίξ or φερνή), supplied by the bride's family, a bride-price is given by the groom or his own family (Snodgrass 1974).

1.18.3–5 The story that the eel and the viper mate is widely reported (e.g. Matro frr. 73–5 Olson–Sens, Ael. *DNA* 1.50, 9.66, Opp. *Hal.* 1.554–79, Sostratus *apud* Ath. 7.312e), albeit often with suspicion (Nic. *Ther.* 826; cf. Andreas, *On False Beliefs* fr. 45 von Staden; Oppian too expresses some doubt). A., Aelian and Oppian seem to use a common source: in each the union is described as a γάμος; the viper goes to the shore and hisses (συρίζει, A.; συρίσας, Aelian; ἐρροίζησε, Oppian); the viper spits out (ἐξεμέσηι, A.; ἀπεμεῖ, Aelian) its poison; the eel emerges from the sea.

1.18.3 τοῖς ἑρπετοῖς: literally 'things that crawl (ἕρπειν)', i.e. anguiforms. There is an elasticity to Cl.'s terminology: he will presently call both the eel and the viper ὄφεις (for this conflation cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 994, Arist. *Hist.*

An. 540a; the third-century BCE physician Andreas claims that the former evolved from the latter (fr. 18 von Staden)). **μυστήριον:** a 'mystery' primarily in the secondary, secular sense (but A. does use mysteriosophic language to describe erotic encounters: 1.2.2n.). **οὐ τοῖς ὁμογενέσι . . . καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις** 'not only reciprocally between members of the same family, but even between those belonging to different tribes'. There is no technical distinction being drawn between γένος and φῦλον here (and certainly nothing that corresponds to Linnaean taxonomy): Cl. simply means that this is an instance in which different but biologically proximate animals mate. **τῆς γῆς . . . θαλάσσιος**: the fusion of sea and land is a sophistic paradox often invoked in *L&C* (Intro. 4(b)). **σμύραιναν:** the word is found both with and without initial sigma (as noted at Ath. 7.312c). **οἰστρεῖ**: intransitive ('goes mad'). **εἰς μὲν τὴν μορφὴν ὄφις, εἰς δὲ τὴν χρῆσιν ἰχθύς** 'a snake in its appearance, but a fish in its habits'.

1.18.4 συρίζει . . . σύμβολον 'signals with a hiss'. **σύμβολον . . . σύνθημα:** this emphasis upon communication via non-verbal 'tokens' reflects Cl.'s own seductive technique. Cf. Clinias' use of συντίθεται at 1.10.4 and συνθήκη at 1.10.6. **εἰς τὴν πέτραν** 'to her habitual (τήν) rock'. This eel apparently pauses on an offshore crag before proceeding εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον (O'Sullivan 1978: 328–9). **περιμένει τὸν νυμφίον καθᾶραι τὸ στόμα** 'waits for her bridegroom to purify his mouth', perhaps the herpetological equivalent of the purificatory bath that preceded human weddings.

1.18.5 πρὸς ἀλλήλους βλέποντες: just as Cl. and L. are apparently looking at each other during this disquisition (cf. ἔβλεπον, 1.19.1). **τῆς νύμφης τὸν φόβον** 'what causes his bride fear', by metonymy; i.e. the poison. **ἐρριμμένον . . . τὸν θάνατον χαμαί** 'his deadly venom (lit.: death) cast on the ground'. The description hints at analogy with ejaculation. In the accounts of Oppian and Aelian the viper re-swallows the poison after coupling.

1.19.1 πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν τὴν ἐρωτικήν 'to see how she was responding to my performance of erotic oratory'. ἀκρόασις suggests sophistic epideixis (1.2.3n.). In this game of tacit communication, the other party must be carefully scrutinised for hints of acquiescence. Cl.'s phrasing picks up Clinias' advice at 1.10.6: if she resists, 'watch carefully (ἐπιτήρει) to see how (πῶς) she resists'. On subverbal discourse see further Intro. 4(b), 6(a). **ὑπεσήμαινεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἀκούειν:** L. discreetly (ὑπο-) signals her approval – or at least so Cl., who has no real way of knowing her inner feelings, imagines. There is another echo here of Clinias' advice at 1.10.4 'she (the woman being seduced) indicates her acquiescence by means of the signals she gives'

(συντίθεται τοῖς νεύμασι). The litotes οὐκ ἀηδῶς marks an elevated, refined style. **τὸ . . . κάλλος ἀστράπτον:** just as L. καταστράπτει Cl.'s eyes at 1.4.2. In these closing sentences of the book, Cl.'s description merges L. with the surrounding environment (Intro. 5(b)). **τὸ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος . . . ἤριζεν ἄνθῃ:** like the peacock (1.16.3), L. rivals the florid landscape in beauty. This is a rare (but non-specific) reference to L.'s body (as distinct from her face, the object of Cl.'s enduring fascination). **ναρκίσσου . . . τὸ πρόσωπον ἔστιλβε χροιάν** 'her face glittered with the colour of narcissus'. χροιάν is an internal acc. after ἔστιλβε (1.15.4n.). This is the most flamboyant expression of the 'flower theme' (Intro. 5(b)): the flowers seem to appear on L.'s face (cf. 1.19.2, 2.1.3). The description is stylistically ornate, showing both unified structure and variation. The three flowers of the grove each appear in the initial position in their clause: in the first, ναρκίσσου is a gen. of quality, in the second ῥόδον is the subject, in the third ἴον is the object. In each clause the main verb conveys the idea of radiance. Each colon concludes with *clausula* c (–⏑––) or g (––––) (Intro. 4(b)). **ἀνέτελλεν** 'dawned', like the sun. **ἴον . . . ἡ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμάρμαιρεν αὐγή:** ἴον is an internal acc. after ἐμάρμαιρεν (i.e. 'shimmered with violet'): 1.15.4n.

1.19.2 τοσοῦτος ἦν Λευκίππης ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων ὁ λειμών: a syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)). **τῆς . . . κιθάρας αὐτὴν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει:** the informal expression ὁ καιρὸς καλεῖ is common in imperial literature (Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 6.25.1, Jos. *Bell.* 7.358, ps.-Plut. *Mor.* 6e etc.; Soph. *Phil.* 466 offers a classical precedent). **ἐμοὶ . . . ἐδόκει παρεῖναι:** lovers are prone to fantasise about their beloveds in their absence (1.9.1n., on πάντοτε Λευκίππην φαντάζομαι). **ἐναφῆκε** 'she had left behind' physical impressions on Cl.'s eyes. On the materiality of vision in *L&C* see Intro. 6(b).

1.19.3 μυθολογίας hints at untruth (see 1.2.2n. on μῦθος). **ἀφορμάς** once again links this episode back to Clinias' advice (cf. ἀφορμάς at 1.9.7). **[καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν . . . ὁμοίως συνεπίνομεν]:** editors since Jacobs have deleted this stray sentence, which interrupts the sequence of events (resumed at the start of Book 2). See further Intro. 7.

BOOK TWO

2.1: L.'s two songs

The second book picks up where the first left off, with the citharodic performance promised at 1.19.2. L. sings two songs: the first is Iliadic and military in nature, the second a praise of the rose. Female citharodes are attested from the late classical period onwards: most are courtesans, but

not all (Power 2010: 57–71). The air of eroticism is enhanced by the location of the episode within the girl's 'room' (δωμάτιον); Cl. will later devote much energy to gaining access to this (Intro. 5(a)). There are correspondences between L.'s pair of songs and those of the slave at 1.5–6 (1.5–6n., 2.1.1nn., 2.1.2n.).

2.1.1 ἐβαδίζομεν 'we began to stroll': characteristic behaviour in natural spaces (1.6.6n.). **ἀκροασόμενοι δῆθεν τῶν κιθαρισμάτων** 'under the pretence of wanting to hear the *cithara* concert'. ἀκροασόμενοι suggests a formal performance (ἀκρόασις: cf. 1.2.3n., 1.19.1). δῆθεν (originally an extended form of δή) indicates a false pretext. **οὐ γὰρ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτοῦ . . . ὁρᾶν τὴν κόρην** 'for I could not control myself and keep myself from seeing the girl even for a short while'. A hybrid construction: κρατεῖν + gen. = 'control', but here a second gen. clause (articular inf. with redundant μή after a verb of prevention) has been bolted on as if ἐμαυτοῦ . . . κρατεῖν were the equivalent of ἐμαυτὸν ἐπέχειν = 'restrain myself'. On Cl.'s want of self-control see Intro. 6(a). κἄν = adverbial καί. **ἦισεν Ὁμήρου . . . τοῦ συὸς μάχην:** at Hom. *Il.* 16.823–6 a simile compares Hector's defeat of Patroclus to a lion's defeat of a boar. Whether L. sings the song in the original Homeric hexameters – which would make for a rather brief song – or in an expanded lyric version (perhaps in a different metre) is unclear. **ἔπειτά τι καὶ τῆς ἁπαλῆς Μούσης ἐλίγαινε** 'then she began to sing a second (καί), sweeter song belonging to the gentle muse'. λιγαίνειν is found primarily in poetry, and marks the λιγύς (clear, piercing) sound associated with birds, wind music and lyric poetry. Cl.'s reference to 'the gentle muse' suggests a shift of genre: similar transitional phrases are found at Call. *Aet.* fr. 112.9 Harder, Virg. *Ecl.* 4.1 and a number of Homeric hymns (a device that Fowler 1989: 82–8 calls 'supratextual closure'): perhaps L.'s first song, if in hexameters, closed with a line such as αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μούσης ἁπαλῆς νῦν μνήσομ' ἐν ὠιδαῖς (cf. Babr. *Prol.* 2.6–8: ἀλλ' ἐγὼ νέηι Μούσηι δίδωμι . . .). ἐλίγαινε mirrors ὑπολιγήνας at 1.5.4, in reference to the slave's song. **ῥόδον . . . ἐπήινει τὸ ἄισμα:** does A. have a real poem in mind? Elizabeth Barrett Browning hypothesised that L.'s song was based on a now-lost Sapphic poem (Browning 1872: 195), and there is indeed evidence that Sappho wrote an encomium of a rose (Philostr. *Ep.* 51 = Sappho fr. 216 Voigt). Alternatively, L.'s song may be *Anacreontea* 55 West, in praise of the rose's pleasant, fragrant, erotic qualities. But of course there need not be any real 'original': Cl.'s prose paraphrase (ψιλὸν . . . λόγον, 2.1.2) has the hallmarks of an autonomous rhetorical encomium (cf. Procopius of Gaza, *Dialexis* 2.5–6 Amato, which has a number of points of contact with our passage, though conceived apparently independently). The Byzantine epic *Digenes*

Akritas 're-versifies' this passage at the start of the sixth book. **ἄισμα** echoes the same word at 1.5.5.

2.1.2–3 A paraphrase inevitably poses the question of how much derives from the 'original' and how much from the caprices of the paraphraser. Cl.'s version certainly has a number of the hallmarks of Clitophontic prose-poetic style, particularly in the short sentences (γῆς ἐστι κόσμος, φυτῶν ἀγλάϊσμα, etc.): see the analysis of this passage at Intro. 4(b). The correspondences with the summaries of the slave's songs at 1.5.4–5 (Intro. 3(b)) also suggest Clitophontic characteristics. Similarly, the anthropomorphising of the rose (which is presented as a human face: ὀφθαλμὸς . . . ἐρύθημα . . . γελᾶι) alludes to the 'meadow' that Cl. detected on L.'s face at the end of the previous book (ἐπὶ τῶν προσώπων ὁ λειμών, 1.19.2; cf. 1.4.3n. and 3.7.3); and the reference to the flower's κάλλος ἀστράπτον recalls the lightning-like effect on Cl. of the first sight of L. (καταστράπτει, 1.4.2n.; cf. the κάλλος ἀστράπτον of the peacock, 1.19.1). There are correspondences too with the frame-narrator's description of the meadow in the ecphrasis of Europa: with the present passage's τῶν ἀνθέων . . . γῆς . . . φυτῶν . . . λειμῶνος . . . φύλλοις κομᾶι . . . πετάλοις cf. ἐν τῆι γῆι λειμὼν . . . ἐκόμα πολλοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὁ λειμών . . . τὰ πέταλα . . . τὰ φύλλα . . . τοῖς ἄνθεσιν . . . τῶν φύλλων . . . τὰ πέταλα . . . τοῦ λειμῶνος . . . τῆς τῶν φύλλων κόμης (1.1.3–4). On such 'metaleptic' effects see Intro. 4(c).

2.1.2 εἴ τις τὰς καμπὰς . . . ἁρμονίας τὸν λόγον: i.e. if one wrote a prose *paraphrasis* of the song, a recognised rhetorical exercise of which late-antique examples survive in the writings of Sopatros (*Metapoieseis*) and Procopius of Gaza (*Metaphraseis*: frr. VI T1, F1–2 Amato; cf. Himerius, *Or.* 48.10–11). See e.g. Morgan 1998: 203–15 and Zucker 2011. The καμπαί ('curvatures') are the undulations of the melody, particularly in a complex piece of music (Ar. *Nub.* 969; Philostr. *VA* 4.39). ψιλὸν . . . ἁρμονίας (the gen. is dependent on ψιλόν) reflects a conception of song as a combination of λόγος, ἁρμονία ('melody') and ῥυθμός (cf. Pl. *Rep.* 3.398d, 400d; Arist. *Poet.* 1447a). λόγος ψιλός is standard for 'prose'. **ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνθέων:** the central of the five noun phrases, given emphasis by the nom.–gen. word order (where the others are gen.–nom.). ὀφθαλμός can be used metaphorically to mean 'the dearest, best' (LSJ IV), but of course the literal meaning resonates too, in the context of a romance dominated by ogling (Morales 2004): cf. the 'eye' on the peacock's fan (1.16.3, with n.).

2.1.3 ἔρωτος πνέει: πνεῖν + gen. = 'exhale an odour of', often signalling emotional or sensory effect on others; the phrase is particularly suggestive of erotic poetry (cf. *Anacreontea* 15.3–5, 16.9, and e.g. *Anth. Gr.* 7.25.3–4, on

Anacreon: Χαρίτων πνείοντα . . . πνείοντα δ' Ἐρώτων). **Ἀφροδίτην προξενεῖ** 'sets things up for Aphrodite' (1.7.4n.), i.e. for sex. **ἐγὼ δὲ ἐδόκουν . . . <ἰδεῖν>:** in an extravagant erotic reverie, Cl. imagines the rose projected onto L.'s face, a conceit facilitated by both the 'meadow' on her face at 1.19.2 and the face-like qualities of the rose in the song, or at least in Cl.'s paraphrase of it (2.1.2–3n.). **ὡς εἴ τις τῆς κάλυκος . . . ἔκλεισε μορφήν** 'as if someone had enclosed the outline of the calyx within the shape of her mouth'. τις is presumably a painter (τὸ περιφερές suggests the drawing of a profile: cf. περιγραφήν at 1.15.5 and περιεγέγραπτο at 1.15.6, with nn.). ἔκλεισε reintroduces the opening and closing theme (see Intro. 5(a)), here carrying an eroticised hint of sequestered feminine interiors (cf. Henderson 1991 (1975): 135 on ῥόδον = 'vulva'; also 1.4.3n.).

2.2–3: The second symposium-meal

A symposium and meal (on the conflation of the two in *L&C* see 1.5–6n.) is held to celebrate the festival of Dionysus Protrygaeus. Although this is presented as a manifestation of Tyrian religion, there is a striking absence of any cultic activity: not for the first time in *L&C*, we are left wondering what has happened to the wider community and the *polis*. The festival is introduced by reference to an otherwise unattested Tyrian myth explaining the origin of viticulture and wine, and an extravagant ecphrasis of an expensive rock-crystal drinking vessel. Cl. and L. flirt during the drinking party, an occasion that offers ample opportunity for seduction (e.g. Ov. *Ars am.* 1.229–52). The second book of Long.'s *D&C* also begins with a Dionysiac festival in celebration of the vintage (τοῦ τρυγητοῦ, 2.1.1); it is likely that one imitated the other (Intro. 4(a)). On the papyrological issues concerning this and the following sections see Intro. 7.

2.2.1 καὶ πάλιν δείπνου καιρὸς ἦν: a formulaic (cf. 2.9.1) introduction to the symposium/meal. **Προτρυγαίου** 'Before-the-Vintage', or perhaps 'Presiding-over-the-Vintage' (LSJ). The epithet is rare, found elsewhere only in Aelian (*VH* 3.41) and the lexicographers. Hesychius is the only other witness to a *Protrygaea* festival, which (he claims) could honour Dionysus or Poseidon; he does not say where it was held (*Lex.* π 4021). A. may well have invented its location in Tyre: there is no evidence elsewhere that Dionysus played a role in the mythology or religion of the real city of Tyre (although there is sporadic evidence for the worship of the Egyptian Osiris, to whom he was sometimes assimilated). **τὸν γὰρ Διόνυσον . . . μῦθον ἄιδουσι:** Dionysus is, the Tyrians claim, Tyrian in origin. The belief – reflecting the interstate competition for cultural prestige among Hellenised cities in A.'s time – is rooted in the Tyrian assertion

that Cadmus (Semele's father and Dionysus' grandfather) was from their city, not Sidon (1.1.1 n.). καί = 'also', i.e. Cl. acknowledges that the Tyrians are not the only people with a story about the god's ancestry. Cl. refers to 'the Tyrians' as though he were an outside observer, either because he does not identify fully with them or because he is aware that his story is being told to a non-Tyrian (see Elsner 2001 on this phenomenon, and see further Intro. 6(c) on Cl.'s cultural identity).

2.2.2 καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς διηγοῦνται πατέρα μῦθον 'and they tell a story that explains the origin of (lit. is 'the father of') the festival', i.e. an aetiological myth. πατέρα, standing in apposition to μῦθον, recalls the metaphorical language of parentage used at 1.1.1 (see also below on ἀποίκους . . . μητέρα). **οἶνον . . . παρ' αὐτοῖς** 'there was no wine yet anywhere among humans except (ὅπου μή = εἰ μή) among the Tyrians'. The *oratio obliqua* is dependent on μῦθον. **οὐ τὸν μέλανα τὸν ἀνθοσμίαν . . . οὐ τὸν Ἰκάρου τὸν νησιώτην:** a learned catalogue of wine types. Intellectual oenology of this kind was culturally prized in the imperial period: see e.g. Plin. *NH* 14, Ath. 1.26a–2.34a (Wilkins 2000: 214–16; Brock and Wirtjes 2000). The 'dark, floral-smelling wine' (τὸν μέλανα τὸν ἀνθοσμίαν) is mentioned in archaic and classical sources (Soph. fr. 273 *TGrF*; Ar. *Plut.* 807; Pherecrates fr. 113.30 *PCG*). **τὸν τῆς Βιβλίας ἀμπέλου:** Hesiod refers to a βίβλινος οἶνος (*Op.* 589), a mysterious phrase that was much discussed in antiquity (see esp. Ath. 1.31a–b). The wine was variously said to derive from Thrace (*BNJ* 378 F 3), Naxos (*BNJ* 396 F 13a) and Italy (*BNJ* 554 F 4). Some authorities, however, connected it with Phoenician Byblos/Biblos (Archestratus fr. 29.5 Olson–Sens); Cl.'s adoption of the less common variant Βίβλιος points in this direction. **Μάρωνος:** the Thracian priest who gave Odysseus the wine with which he stupefied the Cyclops (Hom. *Od.* 10.196–7). **Χῖον ἐκ Λακαίνης:** supply κύλικος (cf. Hesych. *Lex.* χ 482). The phrase is quoted from Aristophanes' now-lost *Banqueters* (fr. 225 *PCG*). **τὸν Ἰκάρου τὸν νησιώτην:** Homer's famous Pramnian wine (*Il.* 11.639, *Od.* 10.235), which according to one tradition was named after the 'Pramnian Rock' on the island of Icaria in the eastern Aegean (Semus *BNJ* 396 F6a; cf. Eparchides *BNJ* 437 F1). The island shares a name with an Athenian deme (mentioned by A. in the following sentence): this coincidence seems to have inspired the islanders to develop their own Dionysiac mythology from the fifth century BCE onwards, so as to forge associations with the powerful city on the mainland (Papalas 1992: 17). **ἀποίκους . . . μητέρα:** since viticulture began in Tyre, all other cultivated vines can be understood as 'colonies' emanating from the 'mother' (i.e. mother-city). The language of colony and metropolis once again (cf. above, on πατέρα) echoes the claims made about Sidon's relationship to Thebes in the

preface (1.1.1n.). **ἀνθοσμιῶν:** the MSS and Π^1 have ἀνθρώπων, a reading that cannot be right (*pace* Brioso Sánchez 1981: 66, who defends it as characteristerically 'barroco . . . y rebuscado'). Valckenaer's οἴνων has been widely accepted by editors, but his explanation (initial corruption to ανων, which was then understood as an abbreviation) seems unlikely (why would a scribe have written nonsense in place of the banal οἴνων?). ἀνθοσμιῶν is a more plausible candidate: the scribe's eye will have substituted the more familiar ἀνθρώπων for a word of similar length that begins and ends identically. (The repetition of a word within a sentence is not unachillean.)

2.2.3–6 According to the Tyrian myth, Dionysus first revealed the secret of wine manufacture to a Tyrian shepherd in return for his hospitality. The story is unattested elsewhere, although (as Cl. acknowledges) it has points of overlap with the Athenian myth of Icarius (2.2.3n.). Formally it is of a familiar Greek type, describing the πρῶτος εὑρετής ('first inventor') of something of great benefit to humankind (Kleingünther 1933). The claim that wine originated in Tyre may reflect competition for dominance in the trade in fine wines. Phoenician cities were exporting wine already in Herodotus' time (3.6.1); according to a sceptical Archestratus in the fourth century BCE, they alleged the superiority of theirs over other wines (fr. 59.12–13 Olson–Sens; Dalby 1996: 96–7).

2.2.3 τινα φιλόξενον ποιμένα: the myth is a theoxeny, i.e. a story of a god being welcomed hospitably. Such tales usually portrayed impoverished rustics displaying greater virtue than wealthier urban-dwellers (Flückiger-Guggenheim 1984), as in Ovid's well-known story of Philemon and Baucis (*Met.* 8.611–724; cf. 1.211–41). The papyrus has ποιμένα here, the MSS βουκόλον; the two terms are used freely and interchangeably throughout the story. **οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Ἰκάριον λέγουσι** 'such as the Athenians claim Icarius to have been'. Icarius was the mythical hero of the Athenian deme of Icaria. The story was most famously the subject of Eratosthenes' *Erigone* (third century BCE), but presumably predated it (cult worship of Icarius in Attica is attested epigraphically from the fifth century BCE: *IG* I^3 253.6, 9; Parker 2005: 71). According to Eratosthenes, Icarius had a daughter, Erigone, who looked after a dog. In return for their hospitable reception of Dionysus, the family received the gift of wine and the vine. Travelling with the dog, Icarius shared the gift with others. Certain herdsmen, however, fell into a drunken stupor, and their companions believed they had been poisoned, and killed Icarius. The dog returned home and by barking revealed to Erigone what had happened; she hanged herself. A plague fell upon the territory of Athens, which was only relieved when the people began to

offer annual honours to Icarius and Erigone; this led to their catasterism. See Flückiger-Guggenheim 1984: 108–12; Rosokoki 1995. **καὶ τοὐνταῦθα . . . Ἀττικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν** 'and up to this point the myth seems to be exactly the same as the Attic one'. The Tyrian version of the story lacks the tragic conclusion of the Attic version (see previous n.). τοὐνταῦθα, though not directly paralleled in *L&C*, is an easy emendation: A. is fond of this kind of crasis for adverbs (e.g. τοὐντεῦθεν 1.1.10, etc., τοὐπίσω 3.9.2, etc., τοὐναντίον 7.6.3, etc.; see further 2.20.2n.). **ποτὸν δὲ ἦν . . . ὁ βοῦς ἔπινεν:** presumably milk, since the Greeks often saw primitive peoples as milk-drinkers (although milk is not, of course, consumed by adult cows). The rustic herdsman has shades of Homer's milk-drinking Cyclops (*Od.* 9.297), who is similarly bewitched by his first taste of strong wine (cf. 2.2.4–5n.). There is also an echo of Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.31–2, where Xenophon describes his hospitable reception by the inhabitants of an unnamed village. These served him and his men a variety of meats and breads; whenever one of these wished to drink someone's health (φιλοφρονούμενος . . . προπιεῖν), Xenophon reports, he would hunch over a mixing-bowl and drink from it 'like an ox' (ὥσπερ βοῦν). **τὸ ἀμπέλινον** 'viticulture'.

2.2.4 ἐπαινεῖ τῆς φιλοφροσύνης τὸν ποιμένα 'commended the shepherd for his hospitality'. **κύλικα φιλοτησίαν:** along with wine, Dionysus introduces one of the customs of aristocratic Greek drinking culture. In the traditional symposium, the 'cup of friendship' was a single mixing-bowl passed around the circle; each symposiast was to drink, praise his neighbour, and then pass the bowl on to him (Wecowski 2014: 50–1).

2.2.4–5 πόθεν, ὦ ξένε . . . ἡδονῆς πῦρ: the rustic's praise of the effects of wine echoes the Homeric Cyclops' words at *Od.* 9.357–9.

2.2.4 σοί: the dat. can be taken as either ethic ('do tell me': 1.7.2n.) or possessive (this purple water 'of yours'). **ὕδωρ . . . πορφύρουν:** the herdsman describes the colour of the draught using a phrase usually applied to marine waters (e.g. Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 1.1327–8): whereas Homer famously describes the sea as 'winey' (οἰνοπα), this culture that does not yet recognise alcohol reverses the comparison. The reference to purple also links this episode to the other Tyrian myth, the invention of the dye (2.11.4–8n.). **τὸ χαμαὶ ῥέον** 'the kind of liquid that flows along the ground', i.e. running water. χαμαί carries an additional connotation of low-grade banality: this is 'no ordinary liquid' (cf. 1.2.3n., on χαμαιζήλου).

2.2.5 Parallels with Christian literature have provoked much interest in this passage (see esp. Bowersock 1994: 125–7; Ramelli 2001: 100; Friesen

2014). The herdsman opposes the 'subtle pleasure' (λεπτὴν . . . ἡδονήν) of water to the joy (cf. εὐφραίνει) brought by wine, which despite its coldness to the touch 'leaps down to the belly and breathes up from the depths the fire of pleasure (ἡδονῆς)'. The joyous transition from water-drinking to wine-drinking has been thought to echo the story of the wedding at Cana, and Jesus' miraculous transformation of water into wine (John 2:1–11; see e.g. Smith 1996: 228–31). Dionysus' following words and actions, moreover, show close verbal parallels with the Last Supper. 'This is the water of the harvest,' he comments, 'this is the blood of the grape' (τοῦτό ἐστιν ὀπώρας ὕδωρ, τοῦτό ἐστιν αἷμα βότρυος); he then takes a bunch of grapes and rubs it (λαβὼν ἅμα καὶ θλίβων), showing the vine to the herdsman, and says τοῦτο μέν ἐστιν . . . τὸ ὕδωρ, τοῦτο δὲ ἡ πηγή. In Matthew, Jesus takes and blesses (λαβὼν . . . καὶ εὐλογήσας) the bread, gives it to the disciples, and says 'take this and eat it, this is my body (τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα μοῦ)'; he then takes a cup, gives thanks (λαβὼν . . . καὶ εὐχαριστήσας), and says 'Drink from this all of you, for this is the blood of my covenant (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης)' (26:26–9; similar phrasing at Mark 14:22–5 and Luke 22:19–20). The focus on wine, the convivial feast of friendship, the mediation between divine and mortal, the association between wine and blood (not itself unparalleled in pagan Greek: cf. e.g. Timotheus, *PMG* 780.4), the λαβὼν καί formula and the distinctive formula-like repetition of τοῦτο . . . ἐστιν collectively argue for a connection between A.'s Tyrian myth and the gospels (whether direct or mediated). The nature of this connection, however, is more difficult to ascertain. If A. knew the gospels directly, then these echoes must be deliberate and pointed, either to lend his invented Tyrian myth a hieratic solemnity (Bowersock 1994: 128) or to parody the nascent religion (Friesen 2014). But perhaps his knowledge was less specific, and he knew this language only as the type of discourse generally associated with the Syro-Palestinian region. At any rate, A. is by some distance the earliest extant non-Christian writer to display knowledge, in some form, of the Eucharist. **τὸ μέν:** i.e. fresh water. **τοῦτο δέ:** wine. **καταθορὸν ἀναπνεῖ κάτωθεν ἡδονῆς πῦρ** 'as it courses down it breathes a fiery pleasure upwards from below'. The effect of wine is comparable to that of kisses described at 2.8.2. ἀναπνεῖ may carry a soteriological hint, as if the Dionysiac wine were breathing new life into the drinker.

2.2.6 τῶν βοτρύων λαβών: 'taking some of the bunches', partitive gen. (cf. οἴνου 2.3.2, τοῦ φαρμάκου 2.23.2, τούτου 2.31.1). **τὸ ὕδωρ . . . ἡ πηγή:** if (on the analogy suggested at 2.2.5) wine is to be understood as a form of water, then the grape must be considered a form of spring. **ὁ Τυρίων λόγος:** on Cl.'s adoption of the voice of the ethnographic outsider see 2.2.1n.

2.3.1 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν 'for the duration of that day', i.e. the day on which Dionysus is held to have given the herdsman the wine. The grape harvest in Greece tends to begin in August. **ἐκείνωι:** potentially a candidate for deletion (as a dittography), but its presence already in Π¹ should give us pause. **φιλοφρονούμενος**, adopted from Π¹, suggests a parallel between Hippias and the herdsman in the myth (cf. φιλοφροσύνης, 2.2.4), drawing ironic attention to the gulf between the virtuous rustic's extension of his frugal hospitality to a stranger and the opulent aristocrat's private party. The MSS reading φιλοτιμούμενος, 'ostentatiously', would underline Hippias' social pretensions as he plans his grandiose meal. **τά τε ἄλλα . . . ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ** 'among the unusually extravagant preparations he happened to have made for the meal he set forth a mixing bowl consecrated to Dionysus'. τὰ . . . ἄλλα is inclusive (1.2.1n.). Ionic παρεθήκατο is adopted from Π¹. The cup is ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ by virtue of the themes it depicts, not (apparently) any ritual function. **μετὰ τὸν Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου δεύτερον** 'second only to that of Glaucus of Chios', i.e. crafted to extraordinarily high standards. According to Herodotus (1.25.1–2), Glaucus was the inventor of welding; Alyattes of Lydia (late seventh–early sixth centuries BCE) deposited two items of his work, a large, silver bowl (κρητῆρα) and a welded iron stand, at Delphi. Outside of *L&C* it is the stand rather than the bowl that elicits admiration (e.g. Hegesander *FHG* 45, 4.421–2): tourists were still commenting upon it in A.'s own day (Paus. 10.16.1; Ath. 5.210b–c). ἡ Γλαύκου τέχνη was proverbial for expertise (Pl. *Phd.* 108d, although there was some debate as to which Glaucus was meant: see Σ *ad loc.*). **ὑέλου . . . ὀρωρυγμένης**: the cup is made from 'mined glass', probably rock crystal, i.e. quartz (at 4.18.4, by contrast, ὕελος means 'glass'). Rock crystal was extremely valuable, hence A.'s πολυτελέστερα (Vickers 1996: 53–8, nuanced by Stern 1997). A.'s ecphrasis of this technological marvel has no direct parallel (though glass is the object of repeated admiration: e.g. Plin. *NH* 36.66 (192–9); Mesomedes 13 Heitsch; *P.Oxy.* 3536). A. may have known that the manufacture of glass and related products was Sidon's second biggest industry (after purple dye).

2.3.2 The cup depicts Dionysus' cultivation of the vine, perhaps in allusion to the Tyrian myth recounted at 2.2. Dionysiac themes and vines are commonly found on drinking vessels going back to early classical times. This one has a distinctive property: the crystal grapes seem to 'ripen' when wine is poured in. Connections have been drawn between this cup and 'dichroic' vessels, such as the British Museum's 4th-century CE 'Lycurgus cup', which change colour in different lights (Whitehouse 1989, citing also the *calices . . . versicolores* at *SHA Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus et Bonosus* 8.10; Elsner 2012: 108). A.'s vase differs, however, in that (i) one would expect

rock crystal to be clear, not coloured in the first place; (ii) apparently only the grapes redden; (iii) it is wine rather than light that causes the change of colour. Perhaps the change was effected either by thinning the crystal near the grapes (so that the ruddy wine was more visible here), or by covering the remainder of the glass with gilding or paint. A.'s description alludes to the ivy-wood cup described at Theoc. 1.27–56, similarly covered with tendrils (29–30) and depicting vines with 'reddening clusters' (περκναῖσι σταφυλαῖσι, 46; cf. A.'s ὑποπερκάζεται, a poetic verb). **αὐτόν:** the cup. **ἄμπελοι . . . ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρατῆρος πεφυτευμέναι:** the phrasing blurs the boundary between representation (the living vines) and artistic medium (the cup). The tendrils are to be imagined as described in relief work around the cup, perhaps in the manner of a *vasum diatretum* or 'cage cup', i.e. the central vessel is entirely enclosed within an intricate lattice (Vickers 1996: 58–63; surviving examples of the type are, however, dated to the third century CE and later). **πάντηι περικρεμάμενοι** 'dangling down all around the bowl'. **ὄμφαξ μὲν αὐτῶν . . . κενὸς ὁ κρατήρ:** 'for as long as (<ἐφ'> ὅσον) the bowl was empty, each of them was unripe'. The noun ὄμφαξ (antonym σταφυλή: see following sentence) is used of the grape that is not yet ready for harvesting. **ἐὰν δὲ ἐγχέηις οἴνου** 'if ever you pour some wine in'. οἴνου is partitive gen. (2.2.6n.). On the hybrid conditional construction see 1.11.3n. **ὑποπερκάζεται** 'begin to turn somewhat (ὑπο-) darker', a poeticism. περκνός, 'dark', is used primarily in connection with ripe vegetation. **ἐντετύπωται:** τυποῦν indicates the creation of a relief effect, usually by creating impressions on wax or soft metal; here the reference is to chiselling.

2.3.3 ἤδη καὶ ἀναισχύντως ἐς αὐτὴν ἑώρων 'I now began to gaze on her, without even feeling shame'. Shame – the internalised sense of social inhibition, particularly as regards sexuality – is an ever-present pressure in Hippias' house (Intro. 6(a)). **Ἔρως δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος, δύο βίαιοι θεοί:** Eros and Dionysus are often linked (e.g. Asclepiades 14 Sens, Call. *Ep.* 42 Pf.), for obvious reasons: both indicate external stimuli that can wreak destructive effects on both body and mind; both, conversely, are linked with liberation from social protocols (cf. their shared epithet ἐλευθέριος). Cl.'s pairing is certainly not unparalleled in Greek (e.g. Call. *Ep.* 42.3 Pf.: Ἄκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ' ἠνάγκασαν, and Stravoskiadis 1889: 17 for other instances), but the phrasing most closely echoes Prop. 1.3.14 (*hac Amor hac Liber, durus uterque deus*; cf. Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.231–2). See Intro. 4(a) on the possibility of A. knowing Latin. **κατασχόντες** 'when they possess'. **ὑπέκκαυμα** 'fuel', echoing the first meal, where Cl. described erotic stories as the ὑπέκκαυμα . . . ἐπιθυμίας (1.5.6, with n.). ὑπέκκαυμα can also refer to food, the fuel of living organisms; this motivates the

metaphor of τροφή in the following *sententia*. **οἶνος . . . τροφή:** a mild paradox (τροφή usually = solid food). **ἤδη δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ . . . ἐθρασύνετο:** the first unambiguous sign that L. apparently reciprocates Cl.'s desire. ἐθρασύνετο ('became emboldened') signals the considerable risk for a young female under the watchful eyes of adults. The phrasing recalls the anonymous frame-narrator's intense gazing (περιεργότερον ἔβλεπον) at the figure of Eros on the painting of Europa (1.2.1). **ταῦτα . . . ἐπράττετο** refers to the long-distance flirting, not to the meal. **πλέον τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐκερδαίνομεν ἢ ἐτολμῶμεν οὐδέν** 'we neither gained, nor indeed dared, anything more than looking'. τῶν ὀμμάτων is extended by metonymy to refer to the act of gazing; the gen. is comparative after πλέον. The τολμ- root reappears four times in the ensuing chapters (2.4.4, 2.4.5, 2.5.1, 2.5.2), marking the audacity of the love affair, in defiance of sexual protocols.

2.4–5: Satyrus' advice and Cl.'s reaction

The slave Satyrus offers protreptic advice that mirrors in certain details that of Clinias in Book 1 (see Intro. 3(b)): he too is sententious; he too employs rhetorical questions; he too uses imperatives; he too urges a combination of circumspection and increased pressure on L.; he too gives advice based on fut. conditionals (2.4.4; cf. 1.10.4–6). Further parallels are indicated in the notes. His advice, however, is specific to Cl.'s current situation, whereas Clinias' consisted primarily of general rules. The chief effect of Satyrus' words is to instil in his willing listener the idea that seduction is a form of virtuous manly striving (2.4.4n. and 2.5.1n.), analogous to athletic and military exertions (evoking the parallel between seduction and warfare that is so central to Latin poetry, but also found in earlier Greek literature: McKeown 1989: 257–9). Cl. responds with an exhortatory self-address (cf. 1.5.7), imagined as a dialogue (cf. 2.6.1 ταῦτα διαλεγόμενος) between Eros and his sense of duty; although primarily (if loosely) based on Xen. Eph. 1.4, it also carries (ironic) echoes of the kind of internal, self-improving dialogue found in philosophers like Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.

2.4.1 Κοινοῦμαι 'I shared', i.e. told the story. **συμπράττειν ἠξίουν** 'I sought his assistance'. **ὀκνεῖν δὲ ἐλέγχειν βουλόμενον λανθάνειν** 'but that he had been hesitant to expose me if I wanted discretion'. As a social inferior, the slave is required to watch himself and say less than he knows (Intro. 6(c)). **ὁ γὰρ μετὰ κλοπῆς ἐρῶν . . . μισεῖ:** the *sententia*, explaining (as γάρ indicates) Satyrus' rationale for not having approached him sooner, is ambiguously focalised (i.e. it might reflect either Satyrus' words, vividly reported in direct speech, or Cl.'s own sententious aside *qua* narrator).

For the idea cf. Plut. *Mor.* 633f. μετὰ κλοπῆς = 'furtively' (cf. 1.5.3n.). **ἄν** = ἐάν. On the hybrid conditional see 1.11.3n.

2.4.2 ἤδη δέ . . . καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον ἡμῶν προὐνόησεν 'Chance, as it happens (adverbial καί), has already got ahead of us in the planning'. The gen. ἡμῶν is dependent on προ- of προὐνόησεν. τὸ αὐτόματον has a quasi-technical ring: in Peripatetic philosophy it is distinguished from τύχη as the general category of incidental cause in the field of human intentions (Guthrie 1981: 237–42). προὐνόησεν too has a philosophical aura (suggesting πρόνοια, 'divine providence'). Cl. and his associates, however, are not specialists, and this highbrow language is used casually. The sentence as a whole recalls Clinias' αὐτήν σοι δέδωκε τὴν ἐρωμένην ἡ τύχη (1.9.2). **[ἡ Τύχη]:** superfluous after τὸ αὐτόματον; it no doubt entered the text as a marginal gloss. **ἡ γὰρ τὸν θάλαμον αὐτῆς πεπιστευμένη Κλειώ:** the acc. is regular after πιστεύεσθαι = 'to be entrusted with'. The scenario is a familiar one: winning over the *ancilla* who attends the girl is, for example, a central part of Ovid's seduction advice (*Ars am.* 1.351–98; 2.251–72). **κεκοινώνηκε** 'has become intimate with', a euphemism. **ἔχει πρός με ὡς ἐραστήν** 'she considers me her lover', a colloquial construction representing a hybrid of (i) ἔχει πρὸς με ἐρωτικῶς = 'she is erotically disposed towards me' (e.g. Antigonus 55.1 *PGrR*; for ἔχειν πρός in this sense in *L&C* cf. 1.19.1); and (ii) ἔχει με ἐραστήν = 'she has me as her lover' (cf. e.g. Macho 18.439–40, Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 1.1). ὡς indicates that Clio may be deluded in her beliefs. **τὸ ἔργον:** 1.9.5n.

2.4.3 δεῖ δέ . . . μόνων πειρᾶν 'You must not limit your attempts on the girl to mere looking'. μέχρι τῶν ὀμμάτων echoes Clinias at 1.9.3. On πειρᾶν see 1.10.4n. καί is weakly adverbial (i.e. not a conjunction joining σε with τὴν κόρην, the direct object of πειρᾶν): it indicates the extension of the seduction narrative beyond the *status quo* of mere gazing (τῶν ὀμμάτων, 2.3.3). **ῥῆμα δριμύτερον εἰπεῖν** 'say something more stimulating'. δριμύς, originally 'piercing', is used from Homer onwards of any intense emotion (cf. 2.35.3–4, of sexual desire, and 5.3.5, of anger). Satyrus' advice picks up Clinias' earlier suggestion that women enjoy listening to erotic ῥήματα (1.10.4; cf. 1.19.1). **πρόσαγε τὴν δευτέραν μηχανήν** 'draw up your second siege-engine', another echo of Clinias' advice (τὴν πεῖραν προσάγων τὴν ἄλλην, 1.10.5).

2.4.4 θίγε χειρός, θλῖψον δάκτυλον, θλίβων στέναξον: A.'s Gorgianic style, featuring alliterative, repetitive, asyndetic *poikilia* (Intro. 4(b)), appears in the mouth of the slave. For hand-holding as an initial stage of seduction see e.g. Archilochus fr. 118 Swift, Ap. Rh. 1.842, and esp. Luc. *Amor.* 53,

where touching fingertips (ἄκρων . . . δακτύλων κἂν μόνον θίγηι) is presented as the first step on the 'ladder of pleasure'. In Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, the seducer Leander puts Satyrus' advice into practice, with precise verbal reminiscences of this passage (θλίβων . . . δάκτυλα . . . ἐστενάχιζεν, Mus. 114–15). **ἢν . . . καρτερῆι καὶ προσίηται:** another echo of Clinias' advice, at 1.10.7 (κἂν . . . προσκαρτερῆι: see n. *ad loc.*), although the meaning of καρτερεῖν is here exactly the opposite: not 'resist' but 'tolerate' the seducer's behaviour. προσίηται = 'allow to approach' (LSJ προσίημι A.II.1). **σὸν ἔργον ἤδη** 'your job at this point is to . . .' The verb 'to be' is omitted, as usual with such expressions of necessity or obligation (Smyth §944b). **δέσποιναν . . . καλεῖν** 'call her "mistress"', a common amatory address (Dickey 1996: 99) reinforcing the *seruitium amoris* theme (Intro. 4(a), 6(a)). At 2.6.1 Cl. will indeed address L. so. **πιθανῶς μέν . . . παιδοτριβεῖς:** the metaphor switches to that of athletic training. The distinctive 'athlete of love' metaphor (see following n.) builds on both the deeply-rooted association of sportsmen with sexual attractiveness (Scanlon 2002) and the idea of the athlete as a model for those who would strive towards ethical virtue (König 2005: 132–9). **δέδοικα . . . ἀθλητὴς γένωμαι:** Cl.'s timorous, hesitant response to Satyrus here closely echoes that to Clinias' advice at 1.11.1 (πιθανῶς μέν responds to μεγάλα μέν, and δέδοικα δὲ μή το φοβοῦμαι δ' ὅμως μή). If the part. ὤν is retained, the sentence must mean 'je crains, moi qui suis timide, d'être un piètre athlète d'amour' (Garnaud); ὤν cannot be pleonastically dependent on γένωμαι (Jacobs 1821: 2.502; the parallel he cites, ὦσιν ὄντες at 5.10.6, is not printed in modern editions). But it is best deleted, since ἄτολμος καὶ δειλός is surely to be taken in hendiadys (cf. Dem. *De fals. leg.* 206, Plut. *Marc.* 24.2, Artem. *Oneir.* 2.12 etc.).

2.4.5 ὦ γενναῖε: not necessarily an acknowledgement of Cl.'s status as master; this was a pliable form of address that could be used by superiors, inferiors and equals alike (Dickey 1996: 127). **τὸ σχῆμα . . . στρατιωτικόν . . . ἀνδρεῖα:** Eros' bow and arrows are usually thought of as hunting rather than military equipment (cf. 8.12.5), and it may be thought perverse to associate a god usually depicted as a child (cf. 1.1.13) with manliness. Satyrus is bending the iconography of Eros to suit his aim of presenting the pursuit of L. as part of Cl.'s formation as a virile adult. **τόλμης γέμοντα** 'full of daring'. Intransitive γέμω (cf. 2.7.6) is synonymous with the pass. of transitive γεμίζω, 'I cram' (cf. e.g. 1.6.1, 1.6.3, 2.29.1). **ὅρα μὴ καταψεύδηι τοῦ θεοῦ** 'make sure that you do not belie the god', i.e. that you live up to his (virile) nature.

2.4.6 ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐγώ σοι παρέξω: cf. Cl.'s request to Clinias to 'give me the starting-points (ἀφορμάς)' (1.9.7). **μάλιστα** is better taken with ὅταν

(= 'at around the time when . . .': LSJ μάλα III.5) than with ἀπάξω (= 'I shall take her a very long way away').

2.5.1 ἐχώρησεν ἔξω τῶν θυρῶν 'he left the room' (not 'he went outdoors'). ἔξω τῶν θυρῶν (cf. 6.1.4) is not found in pre-imperial authors. **ἤσκουν ἐμαυτὸν εἰς εὐτολμίαν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον:** following Satyrus' lead, Cl. adopts the language of virtuous, philosophical or athletic self-discipline (ἄσκησις), combined with that of military attack (ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον). **μέχρι τίνος . . . ἀνδρείου θεοῦ;** again like Satyrus (2.4.4n.), Cl. associates manly striving not (as is usual in philosophical self-exhortation) with resistance to sexual desires, but with pursuit of their satisfaction. A. follows, but inverts, the model of Xen. Eph. 1.4.1–2: in *A&H*, Habrocomes' recriminatory self-address as ἄνανδρος marks his disgust at his inability to control his desires, not (as here) his failure to consummate them. (By contrast at Xen. Eph. 1.9.4 Anthia calls him ἄνανδρε καὶ δειλέ for having delayed his approach to her.) Rhetorical questions beginning with μέχρι τίνος or similar, expressing frustration, are characteristically Achillean (cf. 2.19.1, 5.21.3–4, 6.12.3); these seem to have been imported into erotic discourse (*Anth. Pal.* 5.103.1, 226.1, 12.21.3 etc.) from rhetoric (e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 1; Sall. *Cat.* 20.9; Choricius 8.1.27, 20.2.5, 35.2.47; cf. τέο μέχρις already at Hom. *Il.* 24.128–30). Specific allusion to Callinus fr. 1.1 W² (so Christenson 2000) is unlikely. **προσελθεῖν:** προσέρχομαι + dat. = 'go up to' (very frequent in A.: 1.5.2n.); the meaning 'attack', by contrast, requires a preposition + acc., as at 2.10.3 (πρόσειμι θρασύτερος . . . πρὸς αὐτήν). Cl. recognises that if he is expecting L. to approach *him*, it will be a long wait.

2.5.2 τί γάρ, ὦ κακόδαιμον, οὐ σωφρονεῖς; 'Well then, you wretch, are you really showing no self-control?' Internal dialogue: Cl. imagines himself responding to his own erotic protreptic with a countervailing voice exhorting moral responsibility. For τί γάρ marking 'surprise or indignation' see Smyth §2805a–b. **ὧν σε δεῖ** 'what you ought to'. The neut. plur. marks Cl.'s (short-lived) attempt to think of his situation in terms of abstract principles rather than real people. **παρθένον . . . γαμεῖν:** as Zanetto 2012: 116 notes, there are striking correspondences with a passage in Archilochus' 'Cologne Epode', where the persona is unsuccessfully advised to stick with the woman already in the house, who is beautiful enough (ἔστιν ἐν ἡμετέρου / ἣ νῦν μέγ' ἰμείρε[ι / καλὴ τέρεινα παρθένος· δοκέω δέ μι[ν / εἶδος ἄμωμον ἔχειν· / τὴν δὴ σὺ ποίησαι φίλην, fr. 196a.4–8 Swift). The similarity is, however, probably down to the generically similar circumstances rather than direct allusion. **ἔνδον:** i.e. ready and waiting for you. **καλήν:** Cl. similarly reminds himself that Calligone is beautiful at 1.11.2. **κάτωθεν . . . ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς καρδίας** 'as if from the depths of my heart'. **ναί** (only here in *L&C*) usually

means 'yes', but in this context must imply sarcastic recrimination ('Well then!'; cf. Xen. Eph. 1.9.4). **ἵπταμαι καὶ τοξεύω καὶ φλέγω:** alluding to Eros' three iconographic markers (wings, bow and torch: 1.1.13n.). On ἵπταμαι see 1.12.3n. **ἄν** (*bis*) = ἐάν. **αὐτῶι σε καταλήψομαι τῶι πτερῶι** 'I shall catch you thanks to those very wings of mine' (αὐτῶι . . . τῶι πτερῶι, instrumental dat.). For the idea cf. Prop. 2.30a; *Anth. Pal.* 5.59.

2.6–8: Encounters with L.

Sooner than he had imagined, Cl. gets opportunities to put his newly found courage to the test, but his initial awkwardness in L.'s presence comically undercuts the image of the manly suitor that he has busily constructed for himself. First (2.6) the two engage in a flirtatious but clumsy dialogue precipitated by Cl. calling L. 'mistress', as Satyrus had advised him (see 2.6.1n.); Cl. ends up flustered. Then chance comes to his aid. The previous day, while strolling in the *peripatos* inside the house (as at 1.6.6), he had observed L. healing a bee-sting on Clio by whispering a spell over her; so now he decides to pretend to have been stung himself on the lips, so that L. will brush her own lips against his. It is notable how much more confidently Cl. handles this situation. There are echoes in the bee scene of Book 1's park episode, where aimless strolling (διαβαδίζουσα, 1.16.1 ~ διεβάδιζον, 2.7.1) also led to a chance encounter with an animal (ἔτυχεν, ἔτυχε 1.16.1–2 ~ ἔτυχε, 2.7.1; τύχηι τινί, 1.16.2 ~ κατὰ τύχην, 2.7.3), an event that presented Cl. with the chance to improvise some flirtation. There is also a general affinity (although there are no specific verbal parallels) with Long.'s account of a grasshopper landing on Chloe (Long. 1.26): in both cases, the serendipitous arrival of an insect is exploited by the male would-be seducer. The kiss precipitated by Cl.'s subterfuge is an important moment in the narrative, the first act of (apparently) consensual intimacy: its inceptive significance is emphasised by echoes of the beginning of Book 2, where L.'s mouth is assimilated to a rose (χειλέων. . . στόματος ἔκλεισε, 2.1.2–3 ~ στόμα . . . χειλέων . . . κλείουσα . . . χειλέων, 2.7.4–5). On kisses see 1.17.2n.

2.6.1 ταῦτα διαλεγόμενος κτλ.: Cl.'s failure to notice L.'s arrival, and his subsequent discomfort, raise the amusing possibility that the preceding dialogue was verbalised aloud (in the manner of a soliloquising character in New Comedy), in L.'s earshot. The sudden (ἐξαίφνης) interruption of Cl.'s internal dialogue recalls the sudden (ἐξαίφνης) interruption of his debate with Clinias at 1.12.1. **ἔλαθον ἐπιστὰς ἀπροοράτως τῆι κόρηι** 'I failed to realise that I was standing next to the girl, whom I had not seen'. **ὠχρίασα . . . ἐφοινίχθην:** a range of emotions can be indicated by both pallor (cf. 1.8.1n.) and blushing (Lateiner 1998: 164–9, who

lists shyness, shame, erotic infatuation and dishonesty); here, both mark embarrassment. **ὅμως:** despite the golden opportunity of her being unchaperoned, Cl., in his embarrassment, can only mumble a few words. **ὡς ἂν τεθορυβημένος οὐκ ἔχων τί εἴπω** 'though I did not know what to say, flummoxed as I was'. ὡς ἄν supplies the 'grounds for action' (O'Sullivan ὡς ἄν). οὐκ ἔχω τί (/ὅτι) εἴπω, a variation on the more common οὐδὲν ἔχω εἰπεῖν, is a classical idiom (cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 686–7; Xen. *Cyr.* 6.1.48, Pl. *Apol.* 20e etc.). **δέσποινα:** Cl. addresses L. exactly as Satyrus advised him to (2.4.4, with n.).

2.6.2 ἐμφανίσασα διὰ τοῦ γέλωτος ὅτι συνῆκε 'insinuating with her laugh that she understood'. As at 1.19.1 (and later at 2.7.6), Cl. takes L. to be engaging in subverbal communication that he can decode; how right he is we readers cannot tell. ἔμφασις is the term used by rhetoricians for samizdat innuendo (Ahl 1984: 174–9). **πῶς** 'why' (cf. 2.35.3, 2.37.4). **ἐγὼ σή;** 'I, your mistress?' L. takes (or pretends to take) Cl. literally: to use the designation 'slave' of a free person (as Cl. implicitly has done of himself) would be an insult. **καὶ μήν** 'And yet it is true that . . .' (Denniston 357–8). **τὸν Ἡρακλέα τῇι Ὀμφάληι:** Heracles was enslaved to Omphale, queen of the Lydians, for one year as punishment for killing Iphitus of Oechalia. The story became a favourite of Roman imperial writers in both Latin and Greek, who lent an erotic complexion (also perceptible in this passage) to Heracles' submission to a powerful woman, which was often imagined as an inversion of gender roles: Heracles took on women's tasks and clothing, while Omphale assumed his lionskin and club. The story thus became emblematic of male humiliation in *seruitium amoris* (e.g. Prop. 3.11.17–20, 4.9.45–50; Ov. *Fast.* 2.309–31; *Her.* 9.53–128; see Easterling 2007: 290–2). Laplace 2007: 537–8 sees in this passage a prolepsis of L.'s (literal) enslavement to Cl.'s new wife Melite in Book 5.

2.6.3 τὸν Ἑρμῆν λέγεις: the god to whom Cl. referred was, of course, Eros; L. misunderstands him (wilfully, Cl. thinks), since it was Hermes who was mandated to sell Heracles to Omphale (Ion fr. 17a *TGrF*, with Easterling 2007: 283; ps.-Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.131). For λέγω = 'I mean' see LSJ B.III.9. **ποῖον Ἑρμῆν; τί ληρεῖς . . . εἰδυῖα σαφῶς ὃ λέγω;** 'What do you mean, "Hermes"? Why are you talking nonsense, when you know perfectly well what I mean?' ποῖος is 'freq. in Com. and Prose dialogue, used in repeating a word used by the former speaker, to express scornful surprise' (LSJ 2; cf. 2.35.4, 5.22.3, 6.9.1). **περιέπλεκον λόγους ἐκ λόγων** 'I was spinning out these exchanges'. περιπλέκειν λόγους is an imperial-era phrase (cf. 4.3.2; Luc. *Anachars.* 18, *Herm.* 81). **τὸ αὐτόματόν μοι συνήργησεν:** grandiloquence of a kind favoured by Polybius (3.97.5, 4.3.4, 18.12.2 etc.). On τὸ

αὐτόματον see 2.4.2n. Intrusions of the natural world into the house generally betoken chance events (cf. ἔτυχε, 2.7.1; κατὰ τύχην, 2.7.3; Intro. 5(a)).

2.7.1 ἔτυχε . . . ἡ παῖς ψάλλουσα κιθάραι: a brief analepsis (beginning here and terminated by τότε οὖν at 2.7.3) recounting events of the previous day, necessary to explain the background to Cl.'s trick. ψάλλειν elsewhere in Greek takes the acc. of the instrument plucked. ἡ παῖς is L. (not the slave Clio): in this and the following episodes, Cl. substitutes this term for his usual ἡ κόρη (1.4.5n.). **διεβάδιζον:** 1.16.1n. **μέλιττα:** the erotic associations of the bee are long-standing in the Greek tradition, principally because it (i) stings, like Eros himself (Eur. *Hipp.* 563–4; *Anacreontea* 35 West; ps.-Theoc. 19) and (ii) produces sweet honey (whence names like Melite, a character who will appear later in *L&C*). It thus generates, like love, both pleasure and pain (cf. 2.7.6, Long. 1.18.1). **ἐπάταξε:** πατάσσω is used only here (and at 2.7.4) in Greek of a bee-sting (and only at 2.22.3 of a mosquito bite); κεντέω is the usual verb.

2.7.2 ἡ μὲν . . . τὴν πληγήν: the sudden dynamism of the episode is reinforced by stylistic effects. ἡ μὲν ἀνέκραγεν is balanced by ἡ δὲ παῖς ἀναθοροῦσα; the two ἀνα-prefixed verbs are then followed in the subsequent clause by two κατα-prefixes, with heavy alliteration (esp. καὶ καταθεμένη τὴν κιθάραν κατενόει). **παρήινει** 'tried to soothe'. **παύσειν . . . αὐτὴν τῆς ἀλγηδόνος** 'she would relieve her of the pain'. **δύο ἐπάισασα . . . καὶ μελιττῶν** 'by intoning two spells; these, she explained, had been taught to her by an Egyptian woman to counter the stings of wasps and bees'. εἰς is regularly used by imperial authors of remedies 'against' some malady, where earlier writers use πρός + acc., or the objective gen. This incantation may have been a short hexameter poem, like the two surviving examples designed to cure headaches and fevers attributed respectively to Philinna of Thessaly and a Syrian woman from Gadara (*PGM*^{2} 2.xx). The scene is a bathetic reworking of Hom. *Od.* 19.456–8, where the bleeding from Odysseus' wound during his initiatory boar hunt is staunched by means of an ἐπαοιδή; the 'Egyptian woman' who teaches L. the spell, meanwhile, evokes Polydamna, the Egyptian who gave the Odyssean Helen her drugs (Hom. *Od.* 4.227–32). In general, Egyptian magic is presented in the novels as morally and theologically suspect (Apul. *Met.* 2.28–30, Hld. 3.17, 4.5, 6.12–15, and the villainous Paapis in Antonius Diogenes; see Dickie 2001: 221–3).

2.7.3 ῥάιων γεγονέναι 'she felt better'. **τότε οὖν** indicates the end of the analepsis and the return to the 'real time' of Cl.'s narrative. οὖν often marks the resumption of a narrative that was earlier paused (Denniston 428–9; O'Sullivan 11.3.e): cf. 2.12.1, 2.15.1, 2.16.1. **κατὰ τύχην:** on the

chance motif see 2.6–8n. This episode mirrors the peacock's fortuitous fanning of its tail at 1.16.2. **λαμβάνω τι ἐνθύμιον** 'I had an idea', an imperial-era idiom (cf. Philo *Sacr.* 76; Hld. 7.5.2). **τοῖς προσώποις:** on the plur. see 1.5.3n.

2.7.4 φιλτάτη 'beloved': the first appearance in the novel of this amorous mode of address (Dickey 1996: 138), which from now on will be preferred by Cl. The masc. form φίλτατε, by contrast, can be used both amorously (5.15.6, 5.16.3, 5.26.1–2 etc.) and in friendship (3.18.5). **ἐνέθηκεν ὡς ἐπάισουσα τὸ στόμα:** τὸ στόμα may be understood *apo koinou* as both L.'s mouth (the object of ἐνέθηκεν) and Cl.'s (the object of ἐπάισουσα). Trans. 'She brought her mouth close to mine to recite her spell'. **ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς** 'on the surface'.

2.7.5 κλέπτων: 1.5.3n. **ἀνοίγουσα καὶ κλείουσα τῶν χειλέων τὴν συμβολήν:** as so often, the female body is presented as a closed-off space, the longed-for interior of which is glimpsed through partial openings (Intro. 5(a); cf. 1.4.3). συμβολή = the 'meeting-point' of the lips when closed (cf. 1.3.4). **φιλήματα ἐποίει τὴν ἐπωιδήν** 'began to transform the incantation into kisses' (complementary acc.). **τότε ἤδη:** perhaps pleonastic as at 2.9.3, but ἤδη might also be taken closely with φανερῶς ('openly now'), marking a change of state: cf. ἐὰν . . . ἡδέως ἤδη προσέρχηι, 1.10.5; ἐὰν . . . μαλθακώτερον ἤδη θέληι, 1.10.7. **διασχοῦσα** 'having pulled away'. **καὶ σὺ κατεπάιδεις;** 'are you too casting spells?' Cl. presumably understands this as more flirtatious faux-naivety on L.'s part (cf. 2.6.3). **φιλῶ** 'kiss'.

2.7.6 ὡς . . . συνῆκεν ὃ λέγω καὶ ἐμειδίασε 'when she realised what I meant, and smiled'; echoing 1.17.1, where Satyrus realises (συνείς) Cl.'s unstated seductive intentions, and especially 2.6.2 (L. signals with a smile (μειδιάσασα) that she συνῆκε; note ὃ λέγω at 2.6.3). **ἐπὶ . . . τὴν καρδίαν κατέρρευσε τὸ τραῦμα:** a mixed metaphor echoing 1.4.4. **ἦ που** 'I reckon that . . .', 'Surely it must be the case that . . .?' (Denniston 285–6). **μέλιτταν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος:** elsewhere an image of eloquence (Chamaeleon fr. 32a.4 Wehrli; Ael. *VH* 12.45.4).

2.7.7 παραδράμηις 'race past', i.e. perform too quickly (cf. Hld. 1.14.4, 3.1.1). **τὴν χεῖρα βιαιότερον περιέβαλλον** 'I began to embrace her more vigorously'. The undercurrent of violence is disquieting (cf. Clinias' advice at 1.10.7: ἐπίσχες τὴν βίαν), hinting at the possibility that L. may not be as willing as Cl. assumes. **ἡ δὲ ἠνείχετο, κωλύουσα δῆθεν** 'she let me, with a show of resistance'. Once again Cl. assumes he can read L.'s true intentions in spite of her apparent reluctance (cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.5.15). Clinias has

advised Cl. that women's 'no' is not always intended as a refusal, 1.10.6. On the theme of consent see Intro. 6(a). On δῆθεν see 2.1.1n.

2.8.1 Ἐν τούτωι: 1.3.5n. **τὴν θεράπαιναν:** Clio. **ἡ δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εἶχεν** 'and she – well, I don't know what state she was in'. οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως is in effect adverbial (cf. 6.3.6, 7.9.4). **ῥᾴων . . . ἐγεγόνειν** 'After a while I recovered' (cf. 2.7.3). **οὖν** marks a new episode in the narrative (1.12.1n.). **ὡς σώματος** 'like a material presence'. On Cl.'s tendency to present sensations in materialist terms see Intro. 6(b). **ἐφύλασσον ἀκριβῶς . . . ἐραστῆι γλυκύ** 'I guarded it carefully, watching over the kiss – which is the first joy a lover receives – like a treasury of pleasure' (cf. Bion *Adon.* 49–50). The antecedent of ὅπερ is τοῦ φιλήματος. If MSS ἀκριβῶς (elsewhere in *L&C* 'accurately', of perception, knowledge, aiming or reporting: cf. 2.34.4, 4.4.1 etc.) does not fully convince as an adverbial modifier of ἐφύλασσον, it is at least better than Π¹'s ἀληθῶς. ἀνεξαλείπτως or similar would be preferable.

2.8.2 τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν τοῦ σώματος ὀργάνων: this sententious praise of the mouth and of speech suggests a rhetorical dictum (cf. Gorgias' 'speech is a mighty potentate': *Helen* (= D24 L–M) 8, and further Intro. 4(b)). **στόμα γὰρ φωνῆς ὄργανον· φωνὴ δὲ ψυχῆς σκιά:** σκιά here means 'reflection' or 'image' (1.15.6n.). The *sententia* is expressed in elevated language, and in a characteristically prose-poetic style, with parallelism, variation and ellipsis of the verb 'to be' (Intro. 4(b)). Both sentences are syzygic in structure (i.e. 'A is the B of the C': Intro. 4(b)). The first sentence might have come from a scientific handbook (cf. Arist. *Prob.* 918a, Gal. *De san. tu.* vol. 6 p. 421 Kühn); the second is more poetical and adventurous. **συμβολαί**: the meeting-point of two people's lips (contrast 2.7.5, where the same word is used of the meeting-point of an individual's lips). **κιρνάμεναι:** pres. pass. part. of κίρνημι, a variant of κεράννυμι. The poeticism contributes to the elevated tone. **ἕλκουσι τὰς ψυχὰς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ φιλήματα:** similarly at 2.37.10 it is claimed that the heart 'would follow the kisses and drag itself upwards' if it were not bound to the innards (and cf. the effects of wine described at 2.2.5). The sentence is built around the rhetorical parallelism between ἐκπέμπουσαι κάτω and ἕλκουσι . . . ἄνω, perhaps suggesting a hydraulic machine.

2.8.3 οὐκ οἶδα . . . τῆς καρδίας 'I know of no earlier time when my heart had been so pleased'. As transmitted, the gen. absolute phrase (including οὕτω πρότερον, which belongs with it) functions, unusually, as an object clause after οὐκ οἶδα. **καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἔμαθον ὅτι:** Cl.'s erotic maturation

is marked by his acquisition of new knowledge. Cf. the close of *D&C*: 'and then Chloe learned for the first time that (καὶ τότε Χλόη πρῶτον ἔμαθεν ὅτι) what had happened in the woods had been shepherds' games' (4.40.3). **πρὸς ἡδονήν** 'when it comes to pleasure'. Cl. will return to the pleasures of kissing at 2.37.7–10 (see also 1.17.2n.).

2.9–10: The third symposium and its aftermath

The erotic tension builds. A final symposium scene gives an opportunity for reciprocal flirting, in the form of an exchange of cups. Afterwards, Satyrus and Cl. engineer an unchaperoned meeting in the garden.

2.9.1 Ἐπειδὴ . . . συνεπίνομεν: cf. the formula introducing the δεῖπνον at 2.2.1. **ἐναλλάσσει . . . ὤρεγεν** 'He swapped the cups, setting mine before the girl and hers before me; and he kept on pouring, mixing and offering them to each of us.' The motif seems to have been drawn directly from Ovid (*Ars Am.* 1.574–5; cf. *Am.* 1.4.31–2 and *Her.* 17.79–80; Intro. 4(a)). The similar episodes at Luc. *Dial. Deor.* 8.2 and Aristaen. 1.25 are based directly on *L&C* (cf. 2.9.3n.).

2.9.2 ἐναρμοσάμενος 'applying' his own lip. **ἀποστολιμαῖον τοῦτο φίλημα ποιῶν** 'making this kiss into an epistolary one'. ἀποστολιμαῖος, 'postal', is found only here in pre-Byzantine literature.

2.9.3 συνῆκεν: A.'s usual word when he believes subverbal communication to have taken place successfully (2.7.6n.). **καταφιλῶ καὶ τὴν σκιάν** 'I kissed even the image'. **ἀλλ':** not adversative, but marking the next stage in the narrative, i.e. Satyrus' interruption of the lovers' reveries (the 'progressive' usage: Denniston 21–3). **τὰ αὐτά:** 'the same parts of the cup'. **ἀλλήλοις προεπίνομεν τὰ φιλήματα** 'we proposed toasts of kisses to each other'. Cf. ps.-Luc. *As.* 8, and Aristaen. *Ep.* 1.25 (alluding to this passage).

2.10.1 νῦν μὲν ἀνδρίζεσθαι καιρός: μέν *solitarium* (1.5.1n., 1.11.2n.), here emphasising the urgency of the situation (i.e. now *as* (implicitly) *opposed to later*: O'Sullivan μέν A.I.3.c). ἀνδρίζεσθαι = 'to display your manhood', i.e. to act more courageously (the attempt on L. will be described in primarily military terms: 2.10.2n.; cf. Intro. 6(a)), with a hint of sexual innuendo (the verb is used of tumescence at 4.1.2 and Hld. 5.4.5). **μόνη δὲ ἡ παῖς . . . τῆς Κλειοῦς ἑπομένης:** μόνη means 'without her mother'; the presence of the slave does not count as true companionship. On βαδίζειν see 1.6.6n.

2.10.2 καὶ ταύτην: Clio. καί = 'as well' as Pantheia. **ἀπάξω** 'I shall draw her off', the language of a military strategist. **εἰπών:** we might expect to find εἰπόντος, but the part. has been attracted into the nom. by the proximity of αὐτός. **τῆι Κλειοῖ μὲν αὐτός . . . διαλαχόντες ἐφηδρεύομεν** 'we assigned ourselves our tasks, and lay in wait: he for Clio, I for the girl'. **καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο** 'Events played out as follows' (οὕτως = ὧδε).

2.10.3 πρόσειμι . . . προσβολῆς 'I made my attack on her, emboldened by my first assault', presumably his kissing during the bee-sting episode (2.7). **ὁπλίζοντα:** ὁπλίζειν + acc. + inf. = 'to prepare' someone to do something; in this military context, the original connotations of arming remain active. **οὐδὲν εἰπών:** putting into practice Clinias' recommendations at 1.10: say nothing (μηδὲν . . . εἴπηις, 1.10.2), employ a stealthy, silent approach, and then kiss (1.10.5). **ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ συγκείμενον ἔργον** 'proceeding instead as if towards an act that had already been agreed'. ὡς cannot here be redundant (as perhaps at 1.1.7: see n.). Clinias told Cl. that soliciting consent (cf. 1.10.4 συντίθεται, 1.10.6 συνθήκη) is crucial; but Cl. takes it for granted. **ὡς εἶχον** 'there and then', 'straightaway', an idiomatic expression (cf. 2.23.5, 2.24.1).

2.10.4 ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐπεχείρουν 'But when I was actually (adverbial καί) beginning to attempt . . .' **τι προὔργου ποιεῖν** 'to get somewhere', lit. 'to do something useful' (προὔργου = πρὸ ἔργου), a studied euphemism adapted to this erotic context from the classical canon (e.g. Isoc. *Antid.* 269.4, Pl. *Men.* 84b, Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.10). **ψόφος τις ἡμῶν . . . ταραχθέντες ἀνεπηδήσαμεν**: echoing the startling of Charicles' horse (ψόφος κατόπιν γίνεται, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἐκταραχθεὶς πηδᾶι . . ., 1.12.3). **ἐπέκεινα** 'on the far side' (i.e. of the *peripatos* surrounding the garden: 5(a)). **τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτῆς:** *sc.* ὁδόν (the acc. of the way: 1.8.11n.). **ἐπὶ θάτερα** 'in the opposite direction'. **σφόδρα ἀνιώμενος** marks a parallel with 2.8.1, where the lovers are similarly interrupted to Cl.'s distress (λυπούμενος). **ἔργον οὕτω καλὸν ἀπολέσας, καὶ τὸν ψόφον λοιδορῶν:** an echo of 1.6.5, where Cl. abuses the slave for waking him (ἐλοιδορούμην αὐτῶι τῆς ἀκαιρίας, ἀπολέσας ὄνειρον οὕτω γλυκύν). In both episodes, and indeed at 2.8.1, Cl. imagines he is about to go beyond kisses before being rudely interrupted by a slave.

2.10.5 ἐν τούτωι: 1.3.5n. **φαιδρῶι τῶι προσώπωι** 'looking perfectly cheerful'. Presumably Satyrus is putting on a show of innocence in case anyone is looking on; but Cl.'s choice of adj. may also reveal a sense of grievance (the slave displays no hint of the remorse he should feel after disturbing his master's activities).

2.11–18: The abduction of Calligone

At the start of Cl.'s narrative we were first told of his father's intentions to marry him off to Calligone (1.3.2); now Hippias decides to accelerate the process (cf. the hastily-arranged marriage of Charicles: 1.7.5). Hippias' disturbing dreams at 2.11.1 mirror Cl.'s at 1.3.2–5: both give the unmissable impression that the marriage is doomed. An ecphrasis of Calligone's bridal wear (2.11.2–4) introduces a myth telling of the origin of the purple dye (2.11.4–8). The wedding is, however, delayed when, at the pre-wedding sacrifice, an eagle snatches the offerings from the altar; the soothsayers advise Hippias to sacrifice on the beach (2.12), advice that leads directly to Calligone's abduction. There are multiple echoes of the story of Charicles, who was similarly betrothed against his will by his father (1.7.4–5: see 2.12.1n., 2.19.1n. and Intro. 3(b)); both stories end badly. Whereas the 'homosexual' narrative of Charicles sees marriage averted by a tragic death, the 'heterosexual' one concludes with an abduction. Abductions of brides on their wedding day are known to have taken place in historical reality: for a comparable case from Samos, see Polemo, *Physiognomics* 69 (and further Evans Grubbs 1989; Intro. 6(a)). At 2.13.1 the scene switches to Byzantium, and we are introduced to Callisthenes: his villainous characteristics are underlined by the assimilation to the Homeric Paris (2.12.3n.). He is so dissolute that he falls in love by hearsay rather than (as romance convention demands) at first sight (2.13.1n.). The chronology of the entire episode is complicated by the two parallel plotlines (see table overleaf).

At first sight, Cl. and Callisthenes are ethically contrasted in their treatment of women: the former seduces L. whereas the latter simply seizes Calligone. From the parents' point of view, however, both young men are equally guilty of abduction (Intro. 6(a)). Shared phrasing suggests, moreover, that their methods may have certain aspects in common (2.13.1n., 2.13.3n.). Despite the brutality of the abduction, there are elements drawn from New Comedy in A.'s presentation of it, particularly in the theme of mistaken identity (2.16.2n.) and the 'happy ending' (eventually we discover that Callisthenes has metamorphosed into an honourable character, and that he and Calligone are now happily married: 8.17). The abduction of Calligone has echoes of Paris' abduction of Helen (Lefteratou 2018: 345–9), and of the sack of Troy: armed men are smuggled in in the midst of festivities (2.18.3); the revellers believe that a fleet has sailed away, but hostile agents lie moored at a nearby island (2.17.2n.).

2.11.1 συνεκρότει 'he began to organise', a late-Greek extension of the literal meaning 'bang together'. **θᾶττον ἢ διεγνώκει** 'sooner than he had

Timeframe	Clitophon	Callisthenes
1. 'Before the war' (2.13.2), i.e. before the events of the romance begin.	Cl. is betrothed to Calligone.	In Byzantium, Callisthenes falls in love with L. thanks to her reputation; he approaches Sostratus but is rebuffed; he vows revenge (2.13).
2. In the midst of the war.	L. and Pantheia are sent to Tyre; Cl. falls in love with L. (1.3–2.10). Hippias is disturbed by dreams, and brings forward the wedding between Cl. and Calligone (2.11).	The oracle advises a sacrificial pilgrimage to Tyre. Callisthenes manages to get himself appointed as one of the pilgrims (2.14–15.1).
3. The arrival of the pilgrimage (up to the day before the abduction: cf. 2.18.1).	The pilgrimage arrives. L. pretends to be ill, and stays at home to be with Cl. (2.16). Hippias holds the preliminary sacrifice ahead of the wedding, but an eagle snatches the offering from the altar; the prophets advise a grand sacrifice the following evening (2.12) = the πανήγυρις of which Callisthenes hears.	The pilgrimage arrives, with a grand procession; the inhabitants of Tyre, including the women, flock to see it. Callisthenes sees Calligone and thinks she is L. He learns that there is to be a nocturnal πανήγυρις by the shore, involving all of the women (2.15–16). Callisthenes pretends to leave along with the other pilgrims, but in fact waits at the island of Sarapta; he briefs his henchman Zeno to take a small ship and wait on an islet near Tyre (2.17).
4. The following day, at midnight	The πανήγυρις and abduction	The πανήγυρις and abduction

planned'. **ἔδοξεν:** i.e. 'he dreamed that . . .' (LSJ δοκέω A.I.1). **ἤδη δὲ ἅψαντος αὐτοῦ** 'but as soon as he lit . . .' For this use of ἤδη as an 'adverbial adjunct' see Smyth §2080. **ἧι καὶ μᾶλλον ἠπείγετο** 'for which reason, he was all the more keen . . .', i.e. more so than he was said to be at 1.3.2. ἧι functions both as a connecting relative and as a dat. of the measure of difference with μᾶλλον (1.1.10n.).

2.11.2 τοῦτο . . . εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρεσκευάζετο: the wedding had originally been scheduled for the following year (1.3.3). παρεσκευάζετο can be understood either as mid. (with Hippias as the subj. and τοῦτο as the obj.) or as pass. For the construction after παρασκευάζω cf. 1.3.3, 2.18.1. **ἐώνητο:** the perf. and pluperf. of ὠνέομαι are usually mid. (i.e. with act. meaning: cf. 5.17.9), and given the acc. ἐσθῆτα in the following sentence it seems best to take it thus here, supplying 'Hippias' as an unexpressed subject. But the pass. is occasionally possible too (cf. Ar. *Pax* 1182, *Thesm.* 473); ἐσθῆτα would then be the result of mild anacolouthon.

2.11.2–3 περιδέραιον . . . χρυσοῦν: an ecphrasis of Calligone's bridal wear, beginning with a necklace fashioned from beads of jacinth and amethyst, which carries a pendant crafted from a black base (κρηπίς) into which are set first a white then a red circular, concentric gem. Emphasis is placed (as in other ecphraseis: Intro. 4(b)) on the sophisticated technical ability of the creator, on the distinctiveness of the construction and on the sensory response of the viewer. The aesthetic qualities of the artwork are shared by its literary description: the *poikilia* or 'variegated nature' attributed to the artefact (especially in respect of the colours of the stones: λίθων ποικίλων, 2.11.2) is implicitly claimed for its verbal equivalent (Prioux 2016; and see Intro. 4(b) on ποικιλία as a literary ideal). The literary description of gems is at least as old as Posidippus (third century BCE). This ecphrasis has elements in common with the park ecphrasis at 1.15–19: there are a number of precise verbal echoes (see 2.11.2n., 2.11.3n.), and the polychromy of the stones resembles that of Book 1's flowers (ποικίλην . . . τὴν χροιάν, 1.15.5). **ἐσθῆτα . . . ἦν** 'her robe was entirely purple, except for the part where other robes are purple, where there was gold'. The rich normally dyed only the hems of their clothes with pricey purple dye: Calligone's exceptional dress, by contrast, is entirely purple, and the hem is correspondingly upgraded to gold. This opulence reflects not just her father's munificence but also the local availability of Tyre's most famous export. The golden trim is probably to be imagined as running around the neckline (cf. Luc. *De domo* 7). πορφυρᾶν (the contracted form of the adj.) is preferable to the variant πορφύραν (the noun, encountered soon afterwards). **ἤριζον . . . πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ λίθοι:** echoing the park ecphrasis

at 1.19, where the flowers on L.'s face 'vied with' (ἤριζον . . . πρός) those on the ground.

2.11.3 ὑάκινθος . . . ῥόδον ἦν: ὑάκινθος refers here not to the flower but to the gemstone of this name (sometimes known in English as 'jacinth'), a variety of the red mineral zircon. A first-time reader, however, would inevitably misread the sentence as 'the hyacinth was a rose', a paradoxical riddle. The floral quality of the necklace creates a further point of connection with the park ecphrasis of Book 1. **ἀμέθυσος δὲ ἐπορφύρετο τοῦ χρυσοῦ πλησίον** 'while the amethyst beamed out its purple colour next to the gold'. Ancient Greeks did not distinguish between violet (the true colour of the amethyst) and purple. **τὴν χροιὰν ἐπάλληλοι** 'in a sequence of colours' (τὴν χροιάν is acc. of respect). The polychromatic gems recall in particular the description of the rose in Book 1, a flower with differently coloured parts (1.15.5). **συγκείμενοι . . . ἦσαν οἱ τρεῖς** 'the three stones formed a single unit'. συγκείμενοι is in effect an adj. (1.1.9n.). **τὸ . . . μέσον σῶμα λευκὸν τῶι μέλανι συνυφαίνετο** 'the white of the central component (σῶμα) was interwoven with black'. συνυφαίνετο carries a phonetic echo of the park ecphrasis of Book 1 (cf. συνεξέφαινε, 1.15.5). **ἑξῆς . . . τῶι λευκῶι:** ἑξῆς is here prepositional (+ dat.) = 'next to' (LSJ II). **τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπυρρία κορυφούμενον** 'the final, crowning section glowed red'. κορυφοῦσθαι indicates both the final element in the sequence and the most significant. **ὁ λίθος . . . ἐμιμεῖτο χρυσοῦν:** the description echoes that of the peacock's train in the park ecphrasis of Book 1, where once again a ring of gold is compared to an eye (1.16.3); ἐμιμεῖτο hints at the 'imitation' of the earlier passage (Intro. 4(a)).

2.11.4 τῆς δὲ ἐσθῆτος . . . τὴν βαφήν 'as for the dress, it was no run-of-the-mill purple that dyed it' (lit. 'the purple of the dress carried a dye that was not run-of-the-mill'). πάρεργον is predicative.

2.11.4–8 ἀλλ' οἵαν μυθολογοῦσι Τύριοι . . . θησαυρὸν εὑρίσκει βαφῆς: the local myth of the invention of purple dye is a doublet of the local myth of the invention of wine (2.2), and one of a relatively small number of instances where Phoenician culture is given prominence. On Cl.'s adoption of the ethnographic voice of the outsider when describing Tyrian culture see 2.2.1n. (and 2.2.6). The production of purple dye, extracted from the mucus of three species of marine snails, was closely associated with the city of Tyre, and had been its chief industry and source of wealth (Strabo 16.2.23) since prehistoric times: shell heaps uncovered in Tyre and elsewhere on the Levantine coast attest to the industrial scale of production from the thirteenth century BCE onwards (McGovern and Michel

1985). The process of manufacture is described in detail by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 9.130–8; cf. Opp. *Hal.* 5.598–611). The aetiological story, which Cl. identifies as a local myth (μυθολογοῦσι Τύριοι), appears to be a rationalised version of a genuine Tyrian legend: a nymph called Tyros was loved by Heracles (the Greek equivalent of the Tyrian Melqart), and when she followed him along with her dog, the dog bit into a shell so that the dye was discovered (Poll. *Lex.* 1.45–7); the story is illustrated on Tyrian coinage (Quinn 2017: 144). A.'s version is followed by Nonn. *Dion.* 40.306–8, ps.-Nonnus, *Scholia Mythologica* 4.66 and Byzantine writers. The myth is presented in simple, sometimes asyndetic, alliterative and assonant sentences (μικρὸς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκάλυπτε κόχλος ἐν κοίλωι μυχῶι / ἁλιεὺς ἀγρεύει τὴν ἄγραν, etc.), lending it the air of a simple, even childish tale. There is also a naivety to the fisherman, as he first misperceives the value of the murex and then repeatedly misidentifies the dye as a wound. There are, however, also hints at a deeper, allegorical significance to the tale, in the references to μυστήρια at 2.11.7 and to the ἄδυτον of the shell at 2.11.8 (with nn.); and especially at 2.11.4, where τῆς πορφύρας ὁ κόσμος ἀνθρώποις ἀπόρρητος ἦν hints that the shell conceals a cosmic secret (see n.). Indeed, the conceit of a great discovery lying concealed within the inner recesses of the tiny mollusc (cf. μικρὸς . . . ἐκάλυπτε κόχλος ἐν κοίλωι μυχῶι, 2.11.4) might be taken as an image for allegory itself: cf. ps.-Fulgentius, *Super Thebaiden* pp. 697–8 Sweeney, where decoding a poem's allegorical meaning is compared to cracking the shell of a nut.

2.11.4 τοῦ ποιμένος εὑρεῖν τὸν κύνα: the definite articles suggest a well-known tale ('The discovery by the shepherd's dog'). **ἧι καὶ μέχρι τούτου βάπτουσιν Ἀφροδίτης τὸν πέπλον:** Cl. refers to an allegedly Tyrian ritual, the ceremonial dyeing of a garment for a cult statue, for which the story of the dog and the fisherman serves as an *aition*. Such a ritual may have existed (we know very little in general about Phoenician cult in A.'s day), but it is more likely that A. invented it on the analogy of Greek γάνωσις rituals (where statues and temples were cleaned and adorned: see e.g. Bulloch 1985: 8–10), particularly those such as the celebrated Athenian festivals of the Πλυντήρια (when Athena's πέπλος may have been washed in the sea) and/or the Great Panathenaea (when the same goddess was presented with a new πέπλος). 'Aphrodite' is no doubt the Phoenician goddess Astarte (cf. 1.1.2, with n.). Cl. is once again in ethnographic mode (2.2.1n.), especially with the phrase καὶ μέχρι τούτου ('to this very day'), a variant of the more familiar ἔτι καὶ νῦν used to mark continuity between past and present practice, material culture etc. (Thuc. 1.5.2, Plut. *Thes.* 27.9, Paus. 1.8.1, etc.). **ἦν . . . χρόνος ὅτε:** a formula used to introduce stories of human discovery, indicating the period before

the invention has been made (Critias fr. 19.1 *TGrF*; Pl. *Prot.* 320c). Analogously, the myth of Dionysus and the grapes opens before the existence of wine (2.2.2). **τῆς πορφύρας ὁ κόσμος ἀνθρώποις ἀπόρρητος ἦν** lit. 'the art of adorning using purple was concealed from humans', but both ὁ κόσμος (which can mean 'the universe') and ἀπόρρητος (which can mean 'ineffable', 'mysterious': cf. 5.15.6, 8.6.1) hint at a deeper, allegorical significance (2.11.4–8n.). **ἐν κοίλωι μυχῶι** 'in the hollow recess', i.e. the innermost part of the shell.

2.11.5 ἁλιεὺς ἀγρεύει τὴν ἄγραν ταύτην: τὴν ἄγραν is an internal cognate acc. following ἀγρεύει (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 434; fr. 517 *TGrF*). The assonance, the historic pres. and the asyndeton are characteristic of the simple narrative style Cl. adopts in the myth. **ὁ μὲν ἰχθὺν προσεδόκησεν** contrasts the fisherman's hope both with his subsequent realisation that it is not a fish (ὡς δὲ εἶδε . . .) and with the dog's playful excitement (εὑρίσκει δὲ κύων . . .). **ἐλοιδόρει** 'cursed' (i.e. expressed his contempt verbally). **σκύβαλον** 'rubbish', 'crap' (lit. 'excrement'), a late word marking something to be rejected with contempt. **τὸ ἔρμαιον** 'the godsend', Hermes being a proverbially lucky deity. A. may have at the back of his mind the statue of Hermes discovered in similar circumstances by a fisherman in Call. *Iamb.* 7. The focalisation shifts sharply from that of the naive fisher, who dismissed the shell as a σκύβαλον, to that of the narrator, who recognises its value. **τοῦ ἄνθους:** like L.'s face (1.4.3, 1.19.1–2, 2.1.3), Charicles' body (1.8.9, 1.13.3), the peacock's fan (1.15.8) and the jacinth on Calligone's clothing (2.11.3), the shell is metaphorically connected to flowers (Intro. 5(b)). **τὸ αἷμα** (here and in the following section; cf. ἡμαγμένα, 2.11.6) marks a temporary slide back to the focalisation of the fisherman, who, we subsequently learn (2.11.6), believes the dog to be injured. It is a strikingly grisly image: blood typically colours the chins of warriors who suffer gruesome deaths (Q.S. 11.30) or anthropophagous beings (Soph. *Ant.* 120–3). In conjunction with ἄνθος, however, the reference to blood additionally evokes (and reverses) the mythical motif of the prematurely dead young man whose blood colours a flower (cf. the absorption of Hyacinthus' αἷμα by his ἄνθος at Luc. *De Salt.* 45, *DDeor.* 16.2). Finally, the blood theme connects this tale to the other Tyrian myth, that of the invention of wine (= αἷμα at 2.2.4–5). **ὑφαίνει:** the purple colour appears in thread-like streaks around the dog's jaw.

2.11.6 ἡμαγμένα: probably attributive (reflecting the fisherman's focalisation of events) rather than marking indirect statement (1.1.2n.). **ἀπέπλυνε** 'tried to wash off' (conative imperf.). **τῆι θαλάσσηι** 'using seawater'. **εἶχεν** 'took on'.

2.11.7 φάρμακον ἔχει κάλλους πεφυτευμένον 'it contains planted within it (πεφυτευμένον = ἐμπεφυτευμένον) a means of enhancing beauty'. The natural (πεφυτευμένον) shell can be used for cultural purposes (cf. φάρμακον). **[τὸ ἔριον]** looks to be superfluous after μαλλὸν ἐρίου. **τὰ μυστήρια:** on the religious imagery see 2.11.4–8n. **κατὰ τὴν γένυν τοῦ κυνός** 'in the same way that the dog's jaw had been'. **τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς πορφύρας ἐδιδάσκετο** 'he began to learn how to daub with purple'. τὴν εἰκόνα has been much queried by critics, but may be understood by metonymy as 'the art of making images', with τῆς πορφύρας as a gen. of quality. διδάσκω in the act. takes a double acc. (the 'internal' object of the thing taught and the 'external' of the person taught); as usual with the passive form of such verbs (Smyth §1621), the external object (here the fisherman) becomes the subject while the internal object (τὴν εἰκόνα) remains in the acc.

2.11.8 λαβὼν δή τινας λίθους περιθραύει . . . βαφῆς echoes the actions of Dionysus in revealing the secrets of wine in the first Tyrian myth (cf. λαβών . . . θλίβων, 2.2.6): both involve breaking open exteriors to reveal the true value within. **τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ φαρμάκου** 'the case enclosing the dye'. τεῖχος associates the sea-snail's shell with a series of man-made, protective 'walls' and 'locks' that are, in the course of Books 1 and 2, breached by transgressors (Intro. 5(a)). **τὸ ἄδυτον:** more religious imagery suggestive of allegory (2.11.4–8n.). The ἄδυτον was the innermost part of a temple, usually inaccessible to non-priests (and often containing a θησαυρός). **ἀνοίγει:** on the opening and closing theme see Intro 5(a).

2.12.1 οὖν marks the resumption of the main narrative after the mythical interlude (2.7.3n.). **προτέλεια τῶν γάμων:** the ritual sacrifices that precede the marriage (Pl. *Leg.* 6.774e–5a). **ὡς δὲ ἤκουσα, ἀπωλώλειν . . . ἀναβαλέσθαι τὸν γάμον** echoes and blends together two earlier sentences: 1.4.4, describing the debilitating effects of seeing L. (ὡς δὲ εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλειν) and 1.8.1, recalling Clinias' reaction on hearing that Charicles was to be married (ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Κλεινίας . . . ἀποθέσθαι τὸν γάμον). The effect of the echo is to emphasise the parallels between the situations of Cl./L. and Clinias/Charicles, two couples on the point of being separated by a father's marriage plans (2.11–18n.). **σκοποῦντος** 'thinking'. **θόρυβος ἐξαίφνης γίνεται:** this kind of phrase is commonly used to describe the interruption of a person's state of absorption (cf. 2.6.1 ἰδὼν ἐξαίφνης; 2.10.4 ψόφος τις . . . γίνεται). **τὸν ἀνδρῶνα τῆς οἰκίας** 'the male quarters of the house'. Elite Greek homes typically had separate areas for women and men (Intro. 5(a)). **ἐγεγόνει . . . τι τοιοῦτον** 'the following event occurred'. τοιοῦτό(ν) τι should mean 'something of this kind' (cf. 2.34.7), but the phrase is used idiomatically here and elsewhere both

in Greek from the classical period on and in *L&C* (e.g. 2.14.1, 2.23.4, 6.7.7) to refer to specific events. ἐγεγόνει = ἐγένετο. On the MSS variation between τοιοῦτον and τοιοῦτο see Intro. 4(d).

2.12.2 ἀετός: eagles feature commonly in Greek omens and oracles (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 8.247–50, *Od.* 2.146–55; Aesch. *Ag.* 109–20); Dictys Cret. 5.7 offers a close parallel to our scene. They are usually imagined as emissaries of Zeus, and thus as especially authoritative. Along with Hippias' dream at 2.11.1, this omen constitutes an unambiguous sign (in case there is any doubt in the reader's mind) that the intended marriage will not take place. **σοβούντων . . . πλέον οὐδὲν ἦν** 'they tried to scare it off, but to no avail'. σοβούντων (understand αὐτῶν) is an internal gen. absolute. πλέον οὐδὲν ἦν ('nothing came of it') is an imperial-era idiom (cf. Dio Chr. 31.97, Ael. Ar. 51.6). **ἐδόκει τοίνυν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι** 'This seemed to spell trouble.' **μάντεις . . . καὶ τερατοσκόπους** 'prophets and seers', categories that are differentiated in terms not of function but of respectability. μάντις is the general, unmarked word for anyone skilled in foretelling; τερατοσκόπος has a more derisive ring (τερατεία = 'nonsense', 'mumbo-jumbo'). **οἰωνόν:** lit. 'bird', but also more generally 'prodigy' (since avian behaviour was often, as here, taken as ominous).

2.12.3 καλλιερῆσαι 'make an extravagant sacrifice'. The ceremony will later be described as a πανήγυρις, i.e. a grand, public occasion (2.16.2, 2.18.1). **Ξενίωι Διΐ:** the choice of Zeus, the usual sender of ominous eagles (2.12.2n.), is understandable; but why specifically Zeus Xenios, overseer of relationships of hospitality? A. may have wished to connect the abduction of Calligone in his readers' minds with Paris' abduction of Helen, often presented as a violation of hospitality and hence as an insult to this god (Hom. *Il.* 13.624–5; Aesch. *Ag.* 362, 748). **νυκτὸς μεσούσης:** an unusual time to sacrifice; nocturnal religious activities were thought to be favoured by charlatans (Luc. *Men.* 2, *Philops.* 14). **ὁ γὰρ ὄρνις . . . φανῆναι μηκέτι:** a textually problematic passage. (i) We do not need to be told twice that the eagle has flown out to sea; (ii) τὸ δὲ ἔργον εὐθὺς ἀπέβη (which must mean 'the outcome of the omen was not long in coming') comes out of chronological sequence, and in any case the same point is made by οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ ἀπέβη τοῦ τέρατος τὸ ἔργον. I have therefore accepted Jacobs' deletion of τὸ δὲ ἔργον . . . φανῆναι μηκέτι. On non-Attic ἱπτάμενος see Intro. 4(d); ἐκεῖ = ἐκεῖσε (cf. 1.4.5). **δικαίως ἔλεγον . . . εἶναι βασιλέα** 'I proclaimed that it (the eagle) was rightly held to be king'. δικαίως modifies εἶναι (= καλεῖσθαι). The eagle's title is no doubt due partly to its association with the king of the gods (2.12.2n.), and partly to its predatory dominance

over other birds (cf. Ael. *De nat. hist.* 9.2). **οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ ἀπέβη τοῦ τέρατος τὸ ἔργον** 'it was not long before the omen's outcome was fulfilled', one of *L&C*'s rare narrative prolepseis (Intro. 4(c)), and designed to keep the omen in readers' minds during the subsequent analepsis.

2.13–14 The introduction of Callisthenes (on whom see 2.11–18n.) offers a deviation from Cl.'s actorial focalisation and from the narrative's linear chronology (the introductory episode involves a brief analepsis, set before the Byzantine war (2.13.2)); the main narrative is rejoined at 2.15.1. See Intro. 4(c) on narrative time.

2.13.1 Νεανίσκος . . . πολυτελής: the absence of any connecting particle warns the reader that this episode relates only obliquely to what preceded it. The introduction of Callisthenes combines elements of Cl. (another νεανίσκος: 1.2.1, with n. on the meaning) and Clinias (ὀρφανὸς καὶ πλούσιος ~ ὀρφανὸς καὶ νέος, 1.7.1); he also recalls Aristomachus at Xen. Eph. 3.2.5, another arrogant, rich, young Byzantine who swoops in to intervene in another's erotic affairs (see Intro. 4(a) on A.'s use of Xen.). The motif of arrogant, rich, young aggressors also appears in the Methymnaean episode of *Daphnis and Chloe* (cf. νέοι Μηθυμναῖοι πλούσιοι, *D&C* 2.12.1), and evokes the thuggish male elite often mocked in the popular literature of classical Athens (e.g. Men. fr. 544 *PCG*: ἄσωτος . . . πολυτελής, θρασὺς σφόδρα). **ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐραστής** 'a lover by hearsay'. Love was normally thought to be stimulated by vision (as at 1.4.2–5). Other imperial Greek writers testify to a wider fascination in this era with this phenomenon of auditory love (Philostr. *Her.* 54.4; Ath. 13.575a). As a figure who is captivated by stories of beautiful bodies, Callisthenes might be understood self-reflexively as a model for the ἀκόλαστος reader of romances (Morales 2004: 88–95). **τοσαύτη γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις . . . ὀφθαλμοί:** a capping *sententia*. **ὡς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν εἰς ἔρωτα τρυφᾶν** 'that even their ears can lead them to erotic indulgence'. τοῖς ὠσίν is instrumental dat; εἰς ἔρωτα functions as an adverbial phrase qualifying τρυφᾶν. The conceit rests upon the idea that the ears are for most people less persuasive witnesses to beauty than the eyes (Hdt. 1.8.2, of Candaules' wife: cf. *L&C* 1.8.5); the dissolute, however, can be driven to distraction even by aural reports. **καὶ ταῦτα πάσχειν . . . τρωθέντες ὀφθαλμοί** 'and they experience thanks to verbal report those effects that (*sc.* for normal people) the eyes administer to the soul when they have been wounded'. In other words, the effects on the ἀκόλαστοι of hearing are identical to those on others of seeing. Clinias makes a similar claim about παρθένοι at 1.10.4: in that case, the misprision is the result of naivety rather than decadence.

2.13.2 ὁ δὲ βδελυττόμενος 'Sostratus' stomach was turned by . . .'. **θυμός:** initially the 'anger' that Callisthenes experiences when, Achilles-like, he takes his being denied a woman to be an insult to his τιμή; but it also covers his broader 'passion' (including his erotic desire), which leads to his subsequent impetuosity. **ἴσχει:** the reduplicated form of ἔχω, often used in prose as a synonym (imperial lexicographers sometimes even claim it to be a regular Attic form: Moer. ι 10); in *L&C*, however, it carries a more marked sense, indicating forceful or otherwise significant possession. A. uses the verb only of violent emotions taking hold of individuals (as here; cf. 3.17.6) or of individuals receiving prophetic guidance (2.14.1, 3.19.3). **ἄλλως ἐρῶντα** 'frustrated in his passion'. **ἀναπλάττων . . . τὰ ἀόρατα:** Callisthenes' excessive passion leads his imagination to run wild and picture L. in his mind. The phrasing suggests the mental leaps that accompany creation in the visual arts (Morales 2004: 89–90); cf. Char.'s Persian king Artaxerxes 'picturing and sculpting (ἀναζωγραφῶν καὶ ἀναπλάττων)' Callirhoe in his mind (*Call.* 6.4.7). **ἔλαθε σφόδρα κακῶς διακείμενος** 'before he knew it, he found himself in a truly terrible state', cf. 2.6.1 (not 'he concealed from others the terrible state in which he found himself', which would require ἐλάνθανε).

2.13.3 ἀμύνασθαι 'take revenge upon'. **αὑτῶι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τελέσαι** 'satisfy his own appetite', an ambition as morally incontinent as it is arrogant (cf. Hdt. 1.32.5: the super-rich are able to ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι). **νόμου** might in principle mean 'convention' rather than 'law', but the subsequent phrasing is evidently designed to suggest the language of an official decree (see following nn.). No such Byzantine law is known, but there is certainly evidence for 'abduction marriage' in the Greek world (Intro. 6(a)). A. may have modelled his 'law', and the wider scenario, on those found in fictional declamations (Evans Grubbs 1989: 70). **εἴ τις ἁρπάσας παρθένον φθάσας ποιήσειε γυναῖκα** 'whosoever should abduct a virgin and make a woman of her before (*sc.* he is apprehended) . . .' For εἴ τις = 'whosoever' see *BDAG* εἰ e(b). The opt. reinforces the indefinite quality of the sentence, appropriate to the abstract legal proclamation. **γάμον ἔχειν τὴν βίαν** 'should treat the rape as a marriage'. 'The infinitive for the third person of the imper. often occurs in legal language' (Smyth §2013b). Other modern editors have adopted the conjecture ζημίαν for MSS βίαν, taking the sentence to mean 'should have marriage *as the penalty*' (i.e. the marriage will be in reparation). But the word order and the solitary definite article rule this out: τὴν βίαν must be the direct object of ἔχειν (= 'consider': LSJ A.II.14), and γάμον the complement (see also O'Sullivan βία (b) and Conca 1995: 135). **προσεῖχε τούτωι τῶι νόμωι** 'he pinned his hopes on this law'. **ὁ μέν** marks the end of the exclusive focus on

Callisthenes: μὲν . . . δέ here signals that Callisthenes' ongoing plotting is simultaneous with the events described in the following sentence. **ἐζήτει καιρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον:** the similarity of the language to that used of Cl.'s own machinations (cf. esp. Clinias' advice at 1.10.2, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ζήτει πῶς γένηται σιωπῆι) suggests that Cl.'s and Callisthenes' attempts are not so very different in ethical terms.

2.14.1 Ἐν τούτωι . . . εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκκειμένης 'Then (1.3.5n.) they became embroiled in the war, and the girl was sent to stay with us'. **τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς εἴχετο** 'applied himself to his plotting'. **τοιοῦτό τι αὐτῶι συνήργησε** 'the following event worked to his advantage' (recalling the serendipitous bee that worked to Cl.'s advantage at 2.6.3). On τοιοῦτό τι see 2.12.1n. **ἴσχουσιν:** 2.13.2n. **νῆσος . . . Ἡρακλεῖ:** a four-line hexameter oracle, received from an unspecified male deity (ὁ θεός, 2.14.2: perhaps Apollo at Claros or Didyma?), instructing the Byzantines to perform a sacrifice in a place the identity of which is disguised in a riddle (ἠινίξατο, 2.14.5). This oracle, exceptionally in *L&C*, serves not to predict future events but to prompt the actions required by the plot (the embassy to Tyre). It appears in slightly different form at *Anth. Pal.* 14.34, amid one of the *Anthology*'s two sequences of riddles:

> Νῆσός τις πόλις ἐστὶ φυτώνυμον αἷμα λαχοῦσα,
> ἰσθμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο φέρουσα·
> ἔνθ' ἀπ' ἐμῆς ἔσθ' αἷμα ὁμοῦ καὶ Κέκροπος αἷμα·
> ἔνθ' Ἥφαιστος ἔχει χαίρων γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην·
> κεῖθι θυηπολίην πέμπειν κελόμην Ἡρακλεῖ.

The *Anthology* version shows three divergences from that transmitted in the MSS of *L&C*: (i) πόλις in the first line does not appear in the latter; (ii) nor does the entirety of the third line; (iii) the last four words are slightly different. Of these variants, (i) is regularly adopted into the text of *L&C* (the metre requires a ⏑⏑ or — — supplement in the second foot, and a word beginning with a consonant so as to render τις heavy); and there are arguments for adopting (iii) too (see below, on κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ). (ii), however, is problematic (*pace* Cueva 1994). To what does ἐμῆς refer? Even leaving aside ἀπ' ἐμῆς . . . αἷμα, in what sense does Tyre have Athenian blood? The hiatus αἷμα ὁμοῦ is severe. The high incidence of words repeated elsewhere in the oracle (ἔνθ' / αἷμα / ὁμοῦ καί) is suspicious. Whatever the explanation for this line's appearance in the *Anthology*, it is best omitted from the text of *L&C*.

The oracle contains a number of features typical of hexameter topographic inscriptions, which are typically elliptical in their reference to local phenomena. Cf. *ISic.* 4383, an address to Orion, the guardian of

the straits of Messina: 'you who oversee the narrow strait (στεινὸν . . . πόρον) and the currents of the passage (ῥεύματα πορθμοῦ), where (ἔνθα), as the wandering waves are chased back, the Etruscan water takes up arms against the Adriatic' (3–5). In A.'s oracle, however, the references to Tyre are disguised, and become hermeneutic puzzles, which take two forms. Line 1 contains a genuine riddle (as defined by Clearchus of Soli: 'a playful challenge requiring one to use a process of intellectual inquiry to discover what is being referred to', fr. 86 Wehrli); line 2 is a paradox; line 3 is a riddle in the form of a paradox; line 4, by contrast, is a straightforward instruction. See nn. below on the specifics. The versification is not of the highest standard, according to poetic norms of the period. Line 3 infringes 'Meyer's First Law' (the word-end of Ἥφαιστος occurs between the light syllables of the second foot: see West 1982: 38, and 179 on the rarity of such infractions in the high poetry of the imperial period). Line 4 contains a fifth-foot spondee (which, though vogueish among some Hellenistic and neoteric Roman poets, was generally avoided by competent second- and third-century CE poets: Miguélez Cavero 2013: 88–9). Most striking of all is the hiatus κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ in the fourth line. Homer commonly has -ομαι before a vowel, but in such cases the diphthong is scanned light by correption. Hiatus might be avoided, however, by following the *Anthology* and reading κελόμην Ἡρακλεῖ, or by adopting Salmasius' κέλομ' Ἡρακλῆι (cf. Jacobs 1821: 2.530). **φυτώνυμον αἷμα** 'blood named after a plant'. φυτώνυμον plays on φοῖνιξ = both 'date-palm' (cf. 1.17.3–5) and 'Phoenician' (for the riddle cf. *Anth. Pal.* 7.428.13–14). Palm trees appear on Tyrian coinage from the second century BCE to the third century CE (Quinn 2017: 136–7, 142). 'Blood' can stand (as in English) by metonymy for 'ancestry'. **ἰσθμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο φέρουσα** 'leading to the mainland by both a causeway (ἰσθμός) and a sea-strait (πορθμός)'. Tyre had originally been an offshore island separated from the mainland by a strait (πορθμός), but Alexander the Great had built an artificial mole (ἰσθμός) in order to besiege it. Both ἰσθμός (literally 'neck') and πορθμός can refer to a thin strip either of sea or land. This line of the oracle is not especially enigmatic. **ἔνθ' Ἥφαιστος ἔχων χαίρει γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην:** both a paradox and a riddle. The best-known myth connecting the two deities was that of Hephaestus' failed rape, which led to the insemination of the soil of Attica and hence to the birth of Erichthonius, the first Athenian. For Hephaestus to 'enjoy having' Athena is therefore unexpected. The solution to the riddle, we shall discover presently, involves interpreting the gods metonymically as representing fire and the olive tree. **θυηπολίην** 'sacrifice': a rare, primarily poetic word not attested before the Hellenistic period.

2.14.2–6 Sostratus expertly solves the meaning of the oracle, his acuity contrasting with the perplexity of others (ἀπορούντων . . . αὐτῶν τί λέγει τὸ μάντευμα, 2.14.2). Initially, his interpretation involves explaining the paradox of an island with a causeway: this reveals why it belongs both to the sea and to the land (see Intro. 4(b) on sea/land paradoxes). He then turns to a second geophysical paradox, the existence of a precinct where fire (alluded to metonymically as 'Hephaestus') co-exists with olive trees ('Athena'). There are echoes here of Cl.'s natural-historical oration in Book 1 (2.14.5n., 2.14.6n.). Underlying the account of the fiery trees is a version of the ambrosial rocks in Tyre's foundation myth: two wandering rocks floated over the sea, one carrying a flaming olive tree with an eagle atop it; commanded by the god Melqart, the Tyrians sacrificed the eagle and so the rocks were fixed (Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 311–505; Bijovsky 2005). See further 2.14.4n.

2.14.2 ἀπορούντων: ἀπορία is a common response to puzzling oracles, marking a contrast with insight gained either subsequently (e.g. Pl. *Ap.* 21b: ἠπόρουν τί ποτε λέγει) or, as here, by another party (cf. Hld. 2.36.1). **ὡς ἔφην:** an unparalleled narratorial cross-reference, apparently to 1.3.6 (though no mention is made there of Sostratus' rank). **ὥρα** + inf. = 'we should . . .' (1.2.3n.). **Ἡρακλεῖ:** the Tyrian Melqart, an originally agrarian dying-and-rising god whose Phoenician name probably signifies royalty (MLK = 'king'; cf. Lipiński 1995: 225–43; Intro. 6(c)). **τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ χρησμοῦ:** μέν *solitarium* (1.5.1n., 1.11.2n.) has no appreciable force here (O'Sullivan A.1.3.c). **ὁ . . . φοῖνιξ:** the date-palm (cf. 1.17.3–5). **ταύτης:** Tyre. **ἕλκει δὲ ἡ γῆ, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀμφότερα αὐτὴν ἥρμοσε** 'the land draws the city towards it, but the sea has attached itself to both', i.e. to the island and the mainland. ἥρμοσε is perf. in meaning.

2.14.3 αὐχήν . . . τράχηλος: αὐχήν corresponds to ἰσθμός in the oracle, i.e. it refers to the causeway (2.14.1n.). All three words ἰσθμός, αὐχήν and τράχηλος literally mean 'neck'. ἔστιν ὥσπερ τῆς νήσου τράχηλος (a syzygic affirmation (Intro. 4(b)) in the form of a simile) explains the bodily metaphor: the island of Tyre is the head, the mainland the body and the causeway the neck connecting the two.

2.14.4 οὐκ ἐρρίζωται . . . ὑπορρεῖ κάτωθεν 'it is not rooted in the depths of the sea; rather, the water flows underneath it'. κάτωθεν = κάτω. According to the Tyrian foundation myth, which A. seems to know at least distantly (2.14.2–6n.), Tyre had originally been a floating island (a phenomenon also in Greek myth: cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.3, Call. *Hymn* 3.51–4). **τὸ θέαμα καινόν:** the language of paradoxical sights and their sophistic description

(Whitmarsh 2005b: 54–6, 87–9). **πόλις ἐν θαλάσσηι καὶ νῆσος ἐν γῆι:** on such paradoxical fusions of land and sea and their rhetorical flavour see Intro. 4(b).

2.14.5 Ἀθηνᾶν . . . Ἥφαιστον ἔχειν: the acc. and inf. construction is equivalent to an articular inf., indicating that the phrase as a whole, an abbreviated reference to the relevant part of the oracle, is the topic of the following discussion. **ἐλαίαν ἠινίξατο καὶ πῦρ:** the subject of ἠινίξατο ('enigmatically alluded to') is either the riddle itself or the unnamed oracular deity. The interpretation depends upon the Greek habit of using the names of gods to refer metonymically to natural phenomena. **παρ' ἡμῖν:** despite having lived his life in Byzantium (1.3.1), Sostratus considers himself Tyrian by family origin (Intro. 6(c)). **τὸ . . . χωρίον ἱερὸν ἐν περιβόλωι** 'the place is sacred, and enclosed within a precinct'. **ἐλαία . . . ἀναθάλλει φαιδροῖς τοῖς κλάδοις** 'the olive tree grows abundantly, and its branches gleam'. φαιδροῖς (predicative) suggests the oleaginous vitality of the trees. **πεφύτευται . . . σὺν αὐτῆι τὸ πῦρ** 'but fire appears naturally alongside it'. A. may be thinking of reports of a naturally occurring liquid known to the ancients as naphtha – probably what is now called crude bitumen – which 'is so sensitive to fire that, before the flame touches it, it is kindled by the very radiance about the flame and often sets fire also to the intervening air' (Plut. *Alex.* 35.1). The Tyrians are said to have used this against Alexander (Quint. Curt. 4.3.2–3). **ἡ . . . τοῦ πυρὸς αἰθάλη τὸ φυτὸν γεωργεῖ** 'the ash from the fire fertilises the plant'.

2.14.6–10 Sostratus' fellow general Chairephon (mentioned only here) responds to the interpretation with more *paradoxa*, this time a series of three aquatic marvels; although superficially connected to Sostratus' interpretation by the theme of fire appearing in surprising places, his interjection is ultimately irrelevant and inconsequential, and his implausible anecdotes suggest the kind of comically suggestible personality satirised in Lucian's *The Lover of Lies*. The first two wonders, an underwater flame within a Sicilian spring and a musical river in Spain, are without direct parallel in the literary tradition: A. may have invented them or found them in a work of aquatic or topographic paradoxography (partially extant examples include Sotion's *Paradoxical reports on marvellous rivers, springs and lakes*, *PGrR* pp. 167–9; ps.-Plutarch's *On the names of rivers and mountains and what is found in them*, *PGrH* p. 396; Philostephanus of Cyrene's *On marvellous rivers*, *PGrR* pp. 21–3; and see *PGrR* p. 427 for a full list of extant aquatic marvels). The story of the underwater fire has a general resemblance to the paradoxographical *topos* of waters that run both hot and cold (e.g. ps.-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 152 *PGrR*; Antigonus 133, 148,

154 *PGrR*; and, ultimately, Hom. *Il.* 22.147–52). Only the third marvel, the Libyan lake that yields gold, has a clear source: Hdt. 4.195.3 discusses a north-African island where local girls fish for gold using pitch-covered poles. The description of the Libyan lake verbally echoes the aetiology of purple at 2.11.4–8, another valuable treasure discovered in the depths by fisher-folk (ἀπόρρητον ~ ἀπόρρητος / βαπτίζουσι ~ βάπτουσιν / ἀνοίγουσί ~ ἀνοίγει / ἀγρεύει ~ ἀγρεύει / ἄγρας ~ ἄγραν). As with all marvel literature, these stories are presumably intended (by A., but not by Charephon) to be taken with a pinch of salt. An erudite reader of *L&C* might recall with ironic pleasure Herodotus' famous comment after recording the Libyan lake: 'whether this is true or not I do not know; I simply write what is said'.

2.14.6 συστράτηγος . . . μείζων 'senior co-general'. **πατρόθεν ἦν Τύριος <ἐκεῖνος>:** a supplement is required, since it is Sostratus rather than Chaerephon who is Tyrian (i.e. non-Byzantine), and hence lower in status. <ὁ ἕτερος> (an admissible hiatus: cf. 3.15.4) would make for a pleasingly euphonic alternative. **ἐκθειάζων** 'praising to the heavens'. **πάντα:** either acc. sing. masc. (agreeing with τὸν χρησμόν) or neut. plur. (= 'in every respect'). **μὴ . . . μόνον, ἀλλὰ καί . . . :** an echo of Cl.'s words at 1.17.1.

2.14.7 ἐθεασάμην γὰρ ἐγώ: claims to autopsy are supposed to add plausibility, and this kind of vouching could be seen as essential when verifying one's account (Schepens 1980; cf. 4.4.1). By the time A. wrote, however, the *topos* had been widely parodied (e.g. Petr. *Sat.* 48.8; Luc. *Philops.* 13, 15, 17 etc.); Chaerephon's claim to personal witnessing need not be taken, either by his immediate audience or by A.'s readers, at face value. **τῆς Σικελικῆς πηγῆς:** the definite article suggests that this is a well-known site, although it is otherwise unattested in surviving literature (a reference to 'the Sicilian fountain' would usually suggest Arethusa: cf. 1.18.1). If we are willing to credit Chaerephon at all, we may take him to be reporting on one of several volcanically-generated hot springs on the island. **ὕδατος . . . καὶ πυρὸς σπονδαί**: an anthropomorphising metaphor to match Sostratus' πυρὸς φιλία καὶ φυτοῦ (2.14.6).

2.14.8 ἔπειτα καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰβηρικός 'Then there is a river in Spain . . .' ἔπειτα is emended from MSS ἐπεί, which has not been convincingly explained (for attempts see Vilborg 1962 *ad loc.*, O'Sullivan ἐπεί II.2.a). The ποταμὸς Ἰβηρικός is otherwise unknown (Laplace 1983b argues for emendation to Ἰσμαρικός, connecting the musical river with Orpheus' death in Thrace). **εὐθύς** 'at a glance', 'superficially'. **κρείττων** 'more special'. **ἐκπετάσας τὰ ὦτα** 'spreading your ears', i.e. 'listening attentively' (cf. Ar. *Knights* 1347). **τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ ὡς χορδὴ . . . ὡς κιθάρα**

λαλεῖ: Chaerephon imagines the lake as a stringed *cithara*, on which the wind strums chords like a plectrum (1.5.4n.). τοῦ ὕδατος πλῆκτρον means 'a plectrum for the water' (cf. Cleanthes, *SVF* 502 on the sun as a plectrum). There is a mild paradox at work here: πνεῦμα is more appropriate to a wind than to a stringed instrument.

2.14.9 ἀλλὰ καί 'Why, what is more . . .' **λίμνη Λιβυκή:** mentioned at Hdt. 4.195.3. Libya could be characterised as a land of strange phenomena (e.g. Dio Chr. 5 *passim*, Luc. *Philops.* 7–8). As Chaerephon proceeds, the λίμνη becomes a ποταμός, a conflation that signals either his or A.'s inattentiveness to detail. **μιμεῖται γῆν Ἰνδικήν** 'acts just like Indian soil'. Herodotus claims (3.102–5) that in India gold is excavated from the earth by ants (a claim often treated with suspicion: e.g. Strabo 15.1.37). **τὸ ἀπόρρητον** hints at philosophical allegory (Intro. 6(b); cf. μυστήρια at 2.14.7). **ταύτηι κάτω τεταμίευται τῆι τῶν ὑδάτων ἰλύϊ δεδεμένος** 'is stored there down below, trapped by the mud in the water'. **κοντὸν . . . πίσσηι πεφαρμαγμένον** 'a pole treated with pitch'. A. imagines the process on the analogy with the fowler's technique of bird-liming (described at Long. 3.5–6): the tips of long poles are prepared with viscous liquids in order to trap the prey. **ἀνοίγουσι . . . τὰ κλεῖθρα** 'open the bars', as if the doors of a treasury (cf. τεταμίευται above) were being unlocked. On the 'opening and closing' theme see Intro. 5(a).

2.14.10 οἷον πρὸς ἰχθὺν . . . ἀγρεύει γὰρ αὐτόν: the process is a fusion of fowling (2.14.9n.), fishing and hunting (cf. ἀγρεύει), the three ancient modes of killing wild animals (for the tripartition see Hes. *Op.* 277; Soph. *Ant.* 342–8; ps.-Opp. *Cyn.* 1.47–80). οἷον = ὥσπερ. **ὅ τι γὰρ . . . προσήψατο μόνον** 'for anything made of gold – and gold alone – that lands on it sticks to it'. γονή is a poeticism. τό stands for τοῦτο (coordinated with ὅ τι); προσήψατο and ἥρπασε are gnomic aorists. **οὕτως . . . ἁλιεύεται**: a closural bookend.

2.15.1 καὶ τῆι πόλει συνδοκοῦν 'with the city's approval' (συνδοκοῦν is acc. absolute). **ὁ οὖν Καλλισθένης:** οὖν indicates the resumption of an earlier narrative strand (2.7.3n.). **διαπράττεται τῶν θεωρῶν εἷς γενέσθαι** 'arranged it so that he was chosen as one of the pilgrims'. διαπράττεται (cf. Char. 1.2.5, 1.5.3, 6.1.11 etc.) gives better sense than transmitted (δια-) πλάττεται ('pretended'). **ἐκμαθών** 'after reconnoitring'. **ἐφήδρευε:** the same word that Cl. had used of his 'ambush' of L. at 2.10.2 (cf. also 2.17.3). On Cl.'s and Callisthenes' complementary strategies see 2.11–18n. **αἱ . . . ὀψόμεναι τὴν θυσίαν ἐξήισαν:** religious occasions offer rare opportunities for women to appear in public, where they are liable to seduction or

sexual assault (a *topos* of erotic narrative: e.g. Lys. 1.20, Herod. 1.56–67, Theocr. 2.65–85). **πολυτελής** 'lavish'.

2.15.2–4 The description of the festival is introduced in A.'s usual ecphrastic, prose-poetic mode, with balanced phrasing, verbless sentences and rhythmic clausulae (Intro. 4(b)): e.g. πολλὴ μὲν ἡ τῶν θυμιαμάτων πομπή (– ⏑ – – – = pattern d) / ποικίλη δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀνθέων συμπλοκή (– ⏑ – – ⏑ – = pattern a); it then proceeds to a straightforward zoological description of an Egyptian bull. There are multiple points of correspondence with the park description in Book 1, and particularly with the Europa ecphrasis. The flowers are described in similar terms (ἡ τῶν ἀνθέων συμπλοκή ~ τοῖς ἄνθεσιν . . . συμπλοκή, 1.1.3 / νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδα καὶ μυρρίναι ~ νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδα καὶ μυρρίναι, 1.1.5 ~ <ἴον> . . . καὶ νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδον, 1.15.5 / ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀναπνοὴ . . . ἤριζεν ~ τὰ τοῦ λειμῶνος ἤριζεν ἄνθη, 1.19.1; on the flower theme see Intro. 5(b)). An even more striking correspondence is provided by the bull: explicit reference to Europa on the bull at 2.15.4 directly connects the passages (see also 2.15.3n. on κυκλουμένης σελήνης . . . εἰκών), even though linguistic echoes are few (note, however, κέρας ~ κέρως, 1.1.10 / κυρτούμενον ~ κυρτοῦται, 1.1.9).

2.15.2 πολλὴ . . . ἡ τῶν θυμιαμάτων πομπή 'the parade was rich in incense'. A. echoes the procession that opens Xen. Eph. (cf. θυμιάματα, *A&H* 1.2.4), when Anthia and Habrocomes meet at a festival; the allusion reinforces the impression that Callisthenes' encounter with Calligone is a distorted version of a novelistic 'love at first sight' episode (Intro. 6(a)). **κασσία καὶ λιβανωτὸς καὶ κρόκος:** κασ(σ)ία (to be distinguished from the modern plant genus *cassia*) was a cinnamon-like shrub (Theophr. *HP* 9.5.3), probably *Cinnamomum aromaticum*; its fibrous bark was noted for its fragrance. λιβανωτός can be used of many varieties of incense, but normally refers to frankincense. κρόκος can denote the crocus as a flower or as here the products of its stamen including perfumes and spices (saffron). Cassia and frankincense – imported from southern Arabia – were among the costliest of fragrances (Sidebotham 1986: 39–40 nn. 75–6). The great quantity of θυμιάματα alone justifies the description of the procession as πολυτελής (2.15.1). **τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα . . . τὴν ὀδμὴν ἐκεράννυε** 'their breath, exhaled skywards, produced a mixture of scents', lit.: 'mixed the scent'. **ἄνεμος ἡδονῆς** 'pleasure-generating wind' (gen. of quality).

2.15.3–4 A.'s description of an Egyptian cattle-type, pale with a flat back and horns that rise vertically but with a bowed kink, has a specificity that suggests either eye-witness experience or the use of a learned manual (perhaps a source shared with ps.-Opp. *Cyn.* 2.83–9, where Egyptian bulls

are similarly said to be white and large). If A. was from Alexandria (Intro. 1(a)), he may have seen these bulls himself. Selective breeding since antiquity means that it is pointless to attempt to match A.'s bull to any modern African cattle breed; but it is worth noting that some of the latter (e.g. Ankole, a zebu hybrid) display the distinctive kinked, lunate horns described by A. This ecphrasis marks the first appearance in *L&C* of an Egyptian marvel, a genre that proliferates in Books 3–5. Thanks in part to Herodotus' famous precedent (2.35.1), it had become conventional to dwell on the miraculous and idiosyncratic nature of Egyptian flora, fauna, geology and architecture. There is a divine tinge to aspects of Cl.'s description (see nn. below), perhaps reflecting the fact that Egyptians worshipped the gods Isis, Hathor, Ptah/Apis Menthu/Bukha and Atum-Re/Mnevis in the form of cows.

2.15.3 **εὐτυχεῖ** 'is exceptional'. **τὸ μὲν γὰρ μέγεθος πάντηι μέγας:** at first sight τὸ . . . μέγεθος . . . μέγας may seem pleonastic, but τὸ μὲν μέγεθος is paired with ἡ χροιὰ δέ, the two phrases marking 'headings' that catalogue different aspects of the Egyptian bull's excellence. πάντηι is adverbial, modifying μέγας and motivating the following, secondary list (of large features). **ὁ Σικελικὸς . . . ὁ Κύπριος:** Cl. adopts the voice of an expert in animal husbandry: for a similar learned catalogue of breeds of cattle see ps.-Opp. *Cyn.* 2.83–175. Cypriot oxen are mentioned at *SHA Gord.* 3.7, but in Greek outside of *L&C* only in the phrase βοῦς Κύπριος (Men. fr. 192 *PCG*), applied insultingly to foolish people on the grounds that Cypriot cows are 'lazy and dirty, and eat excrement' (Hesych. β 976). **εὐτελής** 'mean', 'paltry'. **ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κροτάφων . . . διεστᾶσιν ἀρχαί** 'rather, the horns proceed vertically up from the temples, then bow outwards a little on either side; then the top parts curve back together, so as to be the same distance apart as the lower parts'. τὸ κέρας, the sing. subject of the sentence, refers by extension to the entire horn system. On ἑκατέρωθεν see 1.15.4n. **τὸ θέαμα κυκλουμένης σελήνης . . . εἰκών** 'the very image of the moon's circle' (cf. ἡλίου . . . εἰκών, 3.25.1). The lunar comparison is familiar in descriptions of cows' horns (e.g. Mosch. *Eur.* 88); A. may additionally have been influenced by artistic depictions of the Egyptian goddess Isis, who is often portrayed with curved horns, which sometimes cradle a lunar disc; these horns could themselves be considered lunate (e.g. Diod. Sic. 1.11.4). **χροιὰ . . . ἐπαινεῖ:** alluding to Hom. *Il.* 10.436–7, where Rhesus' horses are said to be 'whiter than snow'.

2.15.4 **ἐπιδεικνύμενος** evokes the peacock at 1.16.2 (see n.), another ostentatious male. **τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν . . . βασιλεύς** 'king over the other bulls', perhaps recalling the *Iliad*'s comparison of king Agamemnon to

a bull that stands out among the herd (2.480–3; cf. Dio Chr. 2.66–78 on the bull's regal nature; and also 2.12.3 on the eagle as king of the birds). **ὁ μῦθος Εὐρώπης:** 1.1.2n. **Αἰγύπτιον βοῦν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμιμήσατο** 'the bull that Zeus imitated must have been an Egyptian one' (Αἰγύπτιον stands in the predicative position).

2.16.1 οὖν marks the resumption of the story after the ecphrasis, and the switch of focus back temporarily to L. and Cl. (2.7.3n.). **ἡ . . . ἐμὴ μήτηρ:** Cl.'s stepmother (1.5.1n.). **συνέκειτο . . . ἡμῖν** 'we had made an agreement'. **εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν** (*sc.* τόπον *vel sim.*) is an idiomatic phrase ('to meet up'), which also carries a sexual undertone (Pollux 5.92 cites it as a euphemism for μίγνυσθαι). **ὡς ἂν τῶν πολλῶν ἐξιόντων** 'seeing that most people had left the house'. On ὡς ἄν see 2.6.1n.

2.16.2 νομίσας Λευκίππην εἶναι: New Comic plots, and in particular the plays of Menander, often turn on such instances of misidentification (e.g. Menander's *Girl with the Haircut* and *Shield*; see more generally Traill 2008). **πυθόμενος οὐδέν:** i.e. without pausing to make enquiries. **ἦν . . . ἑαλωκὼς ἐκ τῆς θέας:** the ἀκόλαστος Callisthenes has already been erotically captivated by mere hearsay reports (2.13.1n.); *a fortiori*, then, he will be even more captivated by visual spectacle. The periphrastic pluperf. of ἁλίσκομαι (in place of the regular ἡλώκειν) is found already in classical Greek (e.g. Xen. *Cyn.* 6.18, 19, 24). **λῃστὰς ἐπ' αὐτὴν συγκροτῆσαι** 'organise (2.11.1n.) some brigands for the attack on her'. **πανήγυρις . . . ἐπέκειτο** 'an all-day festival had been decreed'. ἐπίκειμαι suggests official proclamation (LSJ II.1). **τὴν θεωρίαν ἀφωσιωμένος** 'after discharging his sacred duties as a pilgrim'.

2.17.1 Ναῦν . . . ἰδίαν 'a private vessel', i.e. as distinct from the official ship on which the pilgrims would have travelled together. It is probably a small sailing boat: it is subsequently called σκάφος and λέμβος, both of which suggest a light craft (but at 2.31.6 even a fairly large vessel is called a σκάφος). **τοῦτο προκατασκευάσας οἴκοθεν** 'having made these advance preparations while still in his own land (οἴκοθεν, i.e. Byzantium)'. The neut. τοῦτο refers not to the (fem.) ship but to the act of acquiring it. οἴκοθεν = οἴκοι (Intro. 4(d)). **εἰ τύχοι τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως** 'in the hope that he would be successful in his attempt'. For this use of εἰ ('on the chance that') see Smyth §2354. **μικρὸν ἀπεσάλευε τῆς γῆς** 'he bobbed around a little way out from land'. The phrase implies being out on the open sea but still visible from the shore (cf. Char. 3.5.8). μικρόν modifies the separation indicated by ἀπο-. **ἅμα μὲν . . . ἅμα δέ** means little more than 'both . . . and', i.e. the temporal force is weak. Although he aims to linger so as to capture

Calligone after the abduction, Callisthenes also needs to be seen to be leaving along with the other pilgrims to avoid suspicion, and to remain far enough out to sea so as to make a safe getaway once the bandits have struck. **ὡς . . . ἵνα:** variation of the conjunctions used to introduce the parallel purpose clauses. **τοῖς πολίταις:** i.e. his fellow Byzantine pilgrims.

2.17.2 Σάραπτα: Sarapta or Sarepta (modern Sarafend; Biblical Zarephath) lies some 20 km north of Tyre. There are echoes in this episode of the capture of Troy: similarly, the Greeks pretended to sail away, but instead moored at the nearby island of Tenedos. **κώμην Τυρίων:** Sarapta seems to have been in antiquity a dependency of Tyre, perhaps even the historic royal seat of Tyrian rulers (ps.-Scylax, *Peripl.* 104.3). **προσπορίζεται** 'he additionally acquired'.

2.17.3 καὶ ἄλλως 'amongst other things' (LSJ ἄλλως 2), i.e. in addition to being a trusted confidant. **πειρατικός** 'piratical'; but also implicitly, one fit for a πεῖρα, an 'attempt' on a woman (1.10.4n.; cf. 6.21.3). **ταχὺ μὲν . . . καὶ δῆτα** 'quickly . . . and thereupon . . .' This late-Greek use of καὶ δῆτα (not covered by Denniston) is an extension of καὶ δή combining 'the ideas of connexion and immediacy' (Denniston 249). μὲν . . . καί expresses sequence, and carries no adversative force (Denniston 374). **ἐξεῦρε λῃστὰς ἁλιεῖς** 'he got some fishermen to serve as brigands' (LSJ ἐξευρίσκω I.3). **μικρὸν ἐπίνειον Τυρίων, νησίδιον ἀπέχον ὀλίγον τῆς Τύρου:** there is a set of tiny islets due north of Tyre, but none of these could realistically have served as a harbour (ἐπίνειον) for the Tyrians. A. may have Arados in mind, an island of approximately ½ km², considerably further to the north (in what is now Syria), but nevertheless used as a port by the Tyrians (ps.-Scylax, *Peripl.* 104.2). A.'s phrasing does indeed seem to borrow from Char.'s description of Arados as a μικρὰ νῆσος (Char. 7.5.2), τῆς ἠπείρου σταδίους ἀπέχουσα τριάκοντα (Char. 7.5.1), and offering a harbour suitable for a fleet (Char. 7.5.1). **Ῥοδόπης αὐτὸ τάφον οἱ Τύριοι λέγουσιν:** a puzzle. Historical bearers of the name Rhodope are attested on inscriptions, but none of them is famous enough to be referred to without explanation. Perhaps we are to think of a courtesan (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5.92, 219, 228, 249, etc.). Alternatively, A. may have misremembered the name of Rhodopis, the courtesan of Egyptian Naucratis (as distinct from the otherwise unattested acolyte of Artemis mentioned at 8.12); some MSS, indeed, do have Ῥοδώπιδος. But why would her tomb lie in the Phoenician territories? The best-known candidate for its location was in Egypt (Diod. Sic. 1.64.14 = Hecataeus of Abdera *BNJ* 264 F25), although that identification was contested from an early date (Hdt. 2.134.1–2). As at 2.2.1, Cl. seems to distance himself from the perspective of 'the Tyrians' (Intro. 6(c)). **ἐφήδρευεν:** 2.15.1n.

2.18.1 τῆς πανηγύρεως ἣν ὁ Καλλισθένης προσεδόκα: the one mentioned at 2.16.2, and seemingly to be identified with the grand sacrifice (καλλιερῆσαι) demanded by the prophets at 2.12.3. **τὰ τοῦ ἀετοῦ καὶ τῶν μάντεων** 'the episode with the eagle and the prophets'. τά + gen. is used of a story or an episode with a unified theme. At this point the analeptic narrative catches up with the main plot, which was paused at 2.12.3. **εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν . . . νύκτωρ ὡς θυσόμενοι τῶι θεῶι** 'we began preparing for the next day's nocturnal sacrifice to the deity'. For παρασκευάζεσθαι εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν = 'make preparations for the following day' cf. 2.11.2, with n. **ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἦν βαθείας ἑσπέρας** 'when late evening came around'. βαθείας ἑσπέρας is dependent upon καιρός (for pleonastic καιρός + gen. cf. 1.19.2, 2.2.1, 2.9.1).

2.18.2 ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ: Callisthenes and Zeno respectively. **τὸ συγκείμενον ἀνέτεινε σημεῖον** 'he raised the pre-arranged signal'. The expression σημεῖον ἀνατείνειν, which usually denotes the raising of an army's standard (e.g. Arr. *Alan.* 3, App. *BC* 2.9.62), has an appropriately military tinge. συγκείμενον once again links Callisthenes to Cl. (cf. συγκείμενον ἔργον, 2.10.3). **ἦσαν:** i.e. when this fact transpired (cf. 2.28.1). **αὐτῶι:** the boat.

2.18.3 εἶχον προλοχίσαντες: probably to be taken as two separate verbs (they 'had' the men on land whom 'they had planted in advance') rather than as a periphrastic pluperf. On this distinction see Smyth §1963 (cf. §599b); *GMT* §47. **γυναικείας . . . ἐσθῆτας:** a similar tactic was employed by the Egyptian Βουκόλοι ('herdsmen', a tribe of bandits encountered by L. and Cl. at 3.9) in 172–3 CE (Cass. Dio 72.4.1). **θυσίαν** 'something to sacrifice', by metonymy.

2.18.4 συνετίθεμεν τὴν πυράν 'we started heaping up the fire', on which the sacrificial offerings were to be cast. **φευγόντων:** supply ἡμῶν. The verb must here mean 'scatter', not 'run away' (since full flight occurs later, at 2.18.5). **ὄρνιθος δίκην ἀφίπτανται:** this simile (δίκην + gen. = 'in the manner of') indicates that Cl. *qua* narrator understands the abduction as the direct fulfilment of the eagle omen at 2.12.2–3. The eagle is there called an ὄρνις twice; it 'flies down and seizes' (καταπτὰς ἁρπάζει) the sacrificial meat, before 'flying' (ἱπτάμενος) out to sea.

2.18.5 μέσην ἐπέραινε τὴν θάλασσαν: i.e. it was 'half-way out to sea', in the middle distance (predicative μέσος). **τοῖς Σαράπτοις προσέσχον** 'they put in at Sarapta'. There is some divergence in the MSS here, but A. quite clearly understands Σάραπτα to be neut. plur. (cf. κατὰ Σάραπτα at 2.17.2). **πλεῖ . . .**

πελάγιος 'he set out on the open sea', as distinct from sailing along the coast. The phrase is Thucydidean (cf. Thuc. 8.39.3, 8.44.3, 8.60.3, etc.).

2.18.6 ἀνέπνευσα μὲν . . . ἠχθόμην δὲ ὅμως 'I felt relief . . . pained though I was, all the same . . .', a jarringly callous remark, and another marker of Cl.'s insensitivity towards others.

2.19–25: The tryst

L. and Cl. agree to meet in L.'s bedroom, relying on the aid of the slaves Clio and Satyrus (see Intro. 5(a) on the opening and closing theme). In seeking to gain access to her locked room, Cl. performs the role of an *exclusus amator* ('locked-out lover') in a poetic *paraklausithyron* (1.9.2n.). What keeps him out is not (as in Greek epigrams and Roman elegy) the heartless beloved or her minion, but parental and societal norms. The theme of adultery involving the conspiracy of slaves also evokes the narrative world of mime: cf. Herod. *Mim.* 5 and the *Moicheutria* mime (*P.Oxy.* 413). To access the room Cl. needs a stratagem (of the kind that Ovid describes at *Ars amatoria* 3.643–50; Brethes 2017: 141–3 argues that A. borrows directly from Ovid). Specifically, he must circumvent the attentive gaze of the slave Conops (2.20–3), who is introduced as 'inquisitive, talkative and gluttonous', three character traits that will be significant in what follows.

Satyrus and Conops exchange animal fables, versions of which are found in the Aesopic corpus (Prometheus and the lion = no. 292 H–H appears to have been transcribed directly into the corpus from *L&C*; the lion, the mosquito and spider = no. 267 H–H appears in a slightly different form). Whether A. found them there or composed them himself (so that they were subsequently integrated into the collection) is uncertain. At the very least, A. has lent them (particularly the second) a distinct rhetorical colour (Rommel 1923: 75–6; Delhay 1990; Marein 2011; see also 2.22.1n.). The two slaves' choice of fable as a mode of communication is not arbitrary, this mode being associated in Greek culture with the coded language that the dispossessed use covertly to challenge power (Whitmarsh 2013: 171–4; Intro. 4(b), 6(c)). Although the slaves' exchange of fables is superficially playful (προσέπαιζε . . . ἔσκωπτε . . . γέλωτι . . . ἀντιπαίζειν . . . παιδιᾶι 2.20.2; καταμωκᾶι, 2.20.3; μειδιῶν, 2.21.5; ἐγέλασεν, 2.22.7) there is a threatening undercurrent. Beneath the surface of the childish stories lies a 'subtext' (τὸ ὕπουλον, 2.21.5), which both parties comprehend. The exchange of fables contains verbal echoes of Cl.'s seduction of L. using animal parables in Book 1 (2.20.2n., 2.21.4n., 2.21.5n.) – another scene of coded communication – and of the bee-sting episode (2.21.4nn., 2.22.3n.). Satyrus might be said to 'win' the verbal duel, since his fable

caps Conops', and reasserts the generic rule that 'mosquitoes are always defeated in fables' (Miguélez Cavero 2010: 264). But the fable exchange achieves nothing in practical terms and merely entrenches Conops in his position. Satyrus therefore plays on his opponent's gluttony to drug him to sleep, an act that is assimilated to Odysseus' intoxication of the Cyclops (2.23.3n.; that Odyssean colouring has already been signalled by verbal allusions: 2.23.1n., 2.23.2n.).

An echo of the opening ecphrasis assimilates Cl.'s entry into L.'s room to Zeus's rape of Europa – but the genders are reversed, so that Cl. claims for himself the same trepidation as the observers of the mythical rape (2.23.3n.). There are also echoes of Clinias' seduction programme (2.25.1–2n.). The rendezvous takes place, but they are disturbed by L.'s mother Pantheia, who has been awoken by a disturbing dream of a bandit slicing open her daughter, a blatantly sexual image associating heterosexual penetration with violence. The dream recalls Cl.'s at 1.3.4 in certain details (2.23.5n.). Cl. flees, undetected, and L. feigns ignorance of the identity of her 'assailant'. The episode stands in counterpoint to the Calligone episode: both involve deceptive attempts upon the virtue of the two young women of the house; L. exploits the structural similarity when she manipulatively speculates that it may have been a 'bandit' (λῃστής, 2.25.1) breaking into her room. From an ancient legal point of view, seduction of this kind differed from the rape/abduction of Calligone not in substance but in degree: it meant that there were two guilty parties, not just one (Intro. 6(a)).

2.19.1 ὀλίγας δὲ ἡμέρας διαλιπών: Cl.'s silence on the family's response to Calligone's abduction mirrors his lack of interest in the death of Charicles (see 2.11–18n. on the wider parallels between the two episodes). **μέχρι τίνος ἐπὶ τῶν φιλημάτων ἱστάμεθα** 'For how long do we stop at kisses?' For a similarly phrased expression of erotic frustration cf. *Anth. Pal.* 12.21. A. might have written ἱστώμεθα (deliberative subj.). On the 'staging-posts' of seduction see Intro. 6(a). On μέχρι τίνος see 2.5.1n. **τὰ προοίμια** 'the overtures', a metaphor drawn from the oral performance of literature (and perhaps also subtly consolidating the 'staging-post' metaphor, since οἶμος = 'path'). **προσθῶμεν ἤδη τι καὶ ἐρωτικόν** 'let us now add something that is properly (emphatic καί) erotic'. **φέρε:** the adverbial usage ('come now', 'come on') marks Cl.'s attempt to implicate L. in his frustration with the present situation. **ἀνάγκην . . . πίστεως** 'a binding compact', lit.: 'a compulsion of agreement'. **μυσταγωγήσει:** on the mystical language applied to sex see 1.2.2n. **οὐ μή τις ἄλλος κρειττων γένηται τῆς θεοῦ** 'there is no way, I guarantee, that anyone will overrule the goddess'. οὐ μή + subj. marks 'a strong denial' (Smyth §2755).

2.19.2 ταῦτα πολλάκις κατεπάιδων 'repeatedly casting such (ταῦτα = τοιαῦτα) spells'. The metaphor is drawn from *agōgai*, erotic magic spells designed to draw the object of one's affection to one's bed (Faraone 1999: 55–69). **ἐπεπείκειν** 'I prevailed upon'. The pluperf. is equivalent to an aor. in meaning (as at 2.19.6; see Intro. 4(d)). The attainment of L.'s consent is a crucial stage in the seduction process: see Clinias' advice at 1.8.7. **ἥτις:** ὅστις (here) = ὅς (Sexauer 1899: 28; cf. Smyth §2496b).

2.19.3 χωρίον ἦν μέγα τέτταρα οἰκήματα ἔχον 'it (i.e. the θάλαμος) was a large area containing four rooms'. On the layout of the women's bedroom area see Intro. 5(a). **ἐπὶ θάτερα** 'opposite'. **μέσος . . . διεῖργε στενωπὸς ὁδὸς τὰ οἰκήματα** 'a passageway running down the middle separated the rooms', i.e. the two rooms on the left from the two on the right.

2.19.4 καταγωγήν 'quarters'. **τὰ μὲν ἐνδοτέρω τῶν οἰκημάτων** 'the innermost rooms', i.e. the pair further from the door. **ἑκάτερα τὰ ἀντικρύ** 'facing each other'. **τὰ δὲ ἔξω δύο τὰ πρὸς τὴν εἴσοδον** 'but as for the outer two, the ones near the entrance'. **τὸ μὲν ἡ Κλειὼ τὸ κατὰ τὴν παρθένον** 'Clio had been allotted the one next to the girl's room'. Supply διειλήφει from the previous clause.

2.19.5 ἔκλειεν . . . ἐπέκλειε . . . κλεῖς . . . κλεῖς: hinting at the pseudetymological derivation of Clio's name from κλεῖν (Intro. 4(a), 5(a)). **ἔβαλλε διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς:** there is a small opening in the door, through which the keys are passed (for such door-holes cf. ps.-Luc. *Asin.* 12, 47, 52; Ael. *VH* 4.28). **τὸν εἰς τοῦτο ἐπιτεταγμένον** 'the man appointed to this task', perhaps Conops.

2.19.6 ταύταις . . . ἴσας μηχανησάμενος 'having forged keys identical to these ones'. **γενέσθαι τὴν ἄνοιξιν πειρᾶται, καὶ ὡς εὗρε δυνατήν** 'tried opening the door (i.e. with the forged keys); and when he found he could . . .' **ἐπεπείκει:** the pluperf. has an aor. force (2.19.2n., Intro. 4(d)). The augment makes for hiatus (Reeve 1971: 523), but emendation to πεπείκει seems unwise in view of ἐπεπείκειν at 2.19.2.

2.20.1 αὐτῶν: Pantheia's party. **πολυπράγμων καὶ λάλος καὶ λίχνος:** a familiar set of slave stereotypes, marking Conops as gossipy, lazy and in general morally incontinent (Intro. 6(c)). He will also prove to be greedy for food (2.23.1). The πολυπράγμων might be compared to a prurient reader, over-eager for salacious gossip (Morales 2004: 84–7; more generally Whitmarsh 2011: 185–91). **πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις** 'anything else you might care to call him', a form of rhetorical parasiopesis (i.e. the speaker declines to complete a list that could in principle have been extended) found in imperial oratory (cf. Ael. Ar. 24.19, 27.32, etc.). **Κώνωψ** 'Mosquito'.

Animal nicknames were not uncommon for slaves (Vlassopoulos 2010: 116), although Κώνωψ is minimally attested, and there are no indications that other bearers were slaves (*SEG* 42.866; *CIL* 4.3905; Robert 1963: 311 n. 3). The name has been chosen in part for the punning opportunities it will presently provide. In the context of a plot designed to gain entry into a beloved's room, the name may also call to mind Call. *Epigr.* 63 Pfeiffer, a *paraklausithyron* (1.9.2n.) in which the narrator beseeches his beloved Conopion for admission. An erotic epigram by Meleager of Gadara addresses a real κώνωψ, imploring it to serve as a go-between (*Anth. Pal.* 5.152; cf. 151). **πόρρωθεν ἐπιτηρεῖν τὰ πραττόμενα ἡμῖν** 'to be keeping a distant eye on what we were up to'. This inquisitiveness is the first concrete manifestation of Conops' πολυπραγμοσύνη, defined by Plutarch as 'a passion for finding out whatever is hidden and concealed' (*Mor.* 518c). **ὅπερ ἦν** 'as was in fact (-περ) the case', i.e. Conops' suspicions, though malicious, are correct. **διενυκτέρευε μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἑσπέρας** 'he used to stay up well into the night' (LSJ πρόσω B.III.1). There is no firm boundary between ἑσπέρα and νύξ (as 2.18.1 shows). Generally, νύξ is defined meteorologically (i.e. after sundown), ἑσπέρα socially (the time when an individual is thinking about bed). **ἔργον ἦν** 'it was quite an effort' (LSJ ἔργον IV.1.c).

2.20.2 βουλόμενος αὐτὸν εἰς φιλίαν ἀγαγεῖν: an echo of 1.16.1, where Cl. strikes up conversation, 'wanting (βουλόμενος) to make the girl amenable (εὐάγωγον) and to prepare her for love (εἰς ἔρωτα)'. In both situations, stories about animals are told in an attempt to render another submissive, like a tame beast. **Κώνωπα ἐκάλει καὶ ἔσκωπτε τοὔνομα σὺν γέλωτι:** hendiadys (i.e. Satyrus mocks his rival in the act of addressing him as Conops). Onomastic puns will play a central role in the following exchanges (2.21–2, 2.23.3, with n.). The crasis τοὔνομα is standard in *L&C* (2.20.3, 5.24.2, 6.16.5, 7.3.6), and indeed the only nominal crasis apart from τοὔδαφος at 5.23.5 (cf. 2.2.3n.). **εἰδὼς τοῦ Σατύρου τὴν τέχνην** 'seeing through Satyrus' plan'. **ἐνετίθει . . . τῇι παιδιᾶι τῆς γνώμης τὸ ἄσπονδον** 'he made it clear amid the joking that he was firmly opposed', lit. 'he placed the implacability of his will in the joking'. ἄσπονδος, literally 'without truce', styles the relationship between Satyrus and Conops in military terms.

2.20.3 καταμωκᾶι μου καὶ τοὔνομα 'you are mocking me for my very (adverbial καί) name'. μου and τοὔνομα are twin objects of καταμωκᾶι (cf. καταγιγνώσκειν = accuse τινος of τι: LSJ II–III). Alternatively, μου might be taken as possessive. On the crasis τοὔνομα see 2.20.2n. **φέρε . . . εἴπω** 'come, let me tell you . . .', the mock civility reemphasising the aggressive intent (see 2.19.1n. on adverbial φέρε). On this use of the subj. see Smyth §1797b. **ἀπὸ κώνωπος** 'based on a mosquito' (LSJ ἀπό A.III.6).

2.21.1 τὸν Προμηθέα: in Plato's *Protagoras*, the eponymous sophist tells a story (also called a μῦθος, 320c) in which Prometheus and Epimetheus are charged by the gods with distributing characteristics and faculties among the animals (320d–21c). **μέγαν μέν** is answered by ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος . . . φοβοῦμαι, in the lion's direct speech. **ὥπλισε:** echoing ὥπλιζε at Pl. *Prot.* 320e, used of Prometheus' gift of aggressive capacities to dominant animals. **ὁ . . . τοιοῦτος** '(Though I am) of that kind', i.e. powerful. This phrase is idiomatic in the imperial period, the equivalent to classical ὁ οἷος (Smyth §2532b). **τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα φοβοῦμαι:** it was the cock's crowing that the lion was thought to fear in particular (Aes. *Fab.* 84 H–H; Lucr. 4.710–21; Plin. *NH* 8.19 (52); Ael. *DNA* 3.31).

2.21.2 ἐπιστάς: perhaps in a dream (cf. 1.3.4 ἐφίσταται, with n.). **τὰ μὲν . . . πλάττειν ἠδυνάμην** 'as far as my contribution goes, you have everything that I was able to fashion for you'. **ἡ δὲ σὴ ψυχὴ πρὸς τοῦτο μόνον μαλακίζεται:** Prometheus contrasts (i) *his own* (τὰ μὲν . . . ἐμά) and *the lion*'s (ἡ δὲ σή) responsibility for this state of affairs; (ii) the lion's *physical strength* and its *mental* (ἡ . . . ψυχή) *weakness*; (iii) the lion's *many* (πάντα . . . ὅσα) advantages and this *single* (τοῦτο μόνον) exception. **τέλος ἀποθανεῖν ἤθελεν** 'in the end resolved to die', an active decision to commit suicide rather than the rhetorical death-wish that accompanies expressions of despair (cf. e.g. Sappho 94.1–2, 95.11 Voigt; Tsagalis 2004: 42–4). There is in the lion's inability to live with the shame of his δειλία an ironical hint of the heroic suicide of tragic figures such as Ajax (e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 430–80; Fowler 1987).

2.21.3 οὕτω . . . γνώμης ἔχων 'in this state of mind'. On the construction see 1.10.3n. **διὰ παντός** 'continually'. **καὶ . . . δή** introduces a 'surprised question' (Denniston 250).

2.21.4 κατὰ τύχην παραπτάντος αὐτῶι κώνωπος: an echo of 2.7.3 (a bee buzzes around Cl. κατὰ τύχην). **ὁρᾶις . . . τοῦτο τὸ βραχὺ τὸ βομβοῦν** 'You see that puny (LSJ βραχύς 4) thing making a buzzing sound?' The phrasing echoes 1.16.3 ('You see (ὁρᾶις) that peahen . . .?') and 2.7.3 (the bee περιβομβήσασα; and cf. τῶι βόμβωι at 2.22.4). **μου τῆι τῆς ἀκοῆς ὁδῶι** 'by means of my ear canal'. The dat. ὁδῶι is instrumental (εἰσδύνω takes the acc. as its direct object). **τέθνηκα:** 'I'm done for', 'I'm a goner'. 'The perfect may be used vividly for the future perfect to anticipate an action not yet done' (Smyth §1950; cf. §2326b); such usages have a 'very strong rhetorical effect' (Rijksbaron 37 n.5). **τοσοῦτον ὄντα [καὶ] ἐλέφαντος εὐτυχέστερον ὅσον κτλ.** 'more fortunate than the elephant to the degree that . . .' Neut. τοσοῦτον is adverbial, modifying εὐτυχέστερον, and coordinated with ὅσον. The erroneous καί was no doubt introduced as a result of a misunderstanding of τοσοῦτον

as masc. (A., or at least his MSS tradition, varies between neut. τοσοῦτον and τοσοῦτο: Intro. 4(d)). **ὁρᾶις . . . φοβεῖν:** the ancient text is unlikely to have marked changes of speaker, so it will have been initially unclear whether this conclusion was drawn by the elephant or by Conops. The content clarifies that it is better taken as Conops' *epimythion*, the 'moral' to his tale (such as we find in many Aesopic and some Babrian fables; and cf. Cl.'s summary ἰδού at 1.5.7). 'I may be a mere slave', Conops implies, 'but I have power beyond your expectations'. Satyrus' fable concludes with a corresponding *epimythion* (2.22.7). ἰσχύος is partitive gen. after ὅσον ('how much power').

2.21.5 συνεὶς . . . ὁ Σάτυρος τὸ ὕπουλον αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων: Satyrus grasps 'the suppressed meaning' of Conops' words. ὕπουλος, a word of unknown origin, denotes something (usually unpleasant) that lies beneath a surface. The sentence echoes 1.17.1: 'Satyrus, grasping the theme of my discourse . . . ' (ὁ Σάτυρος συνεὶς τοῦ λόγου μου τὴν ὑπόθεσιν). In either case, the cunning slave Satyrus correctly interprets the innuendo underlying an animal tale. **λόγον** may be intended to mark Satyrus' philosophically derived story as better and truer than his opponent's μῦθος (2.20.3; cf. 1.2.2 (with n.), where the two terms are explicitly polarised). **ὃν ἀκήκοά τινος τῶν φιλοσόφων:** Satyrus claims intellectual authority for his story, implying that it has a higher status than Conops'. In general, fables were thought of as low-status literature: 'frogs, donkeys and blather for old women and children to chew on' (Philostr. *Ap.* 5.14.1). In certain circumstances, however, they could be reclaimed for philosophy: 'in my opinion . . . Aesop's tales are much more conducive to wisdom' than those of the poets (*ibid.* 5.14.2; cf. Pl. *Phd.* 60c–61c). **χαρίζομαι . . . σοι τοῦ μύθου τὸν ἐλέφαντα** 'as for the elephant in your story, you're welcome to him', lit. 'I make a gift to you of the elephant of the story' (i.e. Satyrus' tale will be pachyderm-free).

2.22.1 τοίνυν 'so', marking the beginning of the story (cf. 1.12.1n. on οὖν). **ἀλαζών** belongs to the same general category of abusive words indicating lack of manners (and often, hence, social inferiority) as πολυπράγμων, λάλος and λίχνος (2.20.1): the attack on Conops and his self-aggrandising fable is thinly veiled. The mosquito's vaunting speech has some of the characteristics of Homeric boasting before single combat: claims to superior vigour, the feminisation of the opponent and a promise to defeat him (Martin 1989: 72–5, 82–4). In particular, the mosquito seems to allude specifically at 2.22.4 to the exchange of boasts between Achilles and Aeneas at *Iliad* 20.178–258 (2.22.4n.; as it happens, Aeneas' speech comes in the context of a comparison of Achilles to a mighty lion, 20.164–73). The passage is Iliadic more generally in its military theme and vocabulary. The mosquito's self-praise borrows heavily from the

rhetorical tradition of adoxography, the paradoxical lauding of worthless things (Billerbeck and Zubler 2000); Lucian's *Encomium of a Fly* offers an apposite parallel. **τὸν λέοντα:** the definite article is used because the lion has already been announced by Satyrus as the subject of this fable. (κώνωψ, by contrast, is indefinite because qualified by ἀλαζών.) **εἶτα** in questions expresses 'some attitude of the questioner (surprise, indignation, sarcasm)' (O'Sullivan εἶτα 2). **μείζων:** an unexpected claim from the tiny gnat. **ἐπεί:** used here like a connecting particle equivalent to γάρ. **πρῶτον** indicates that ἀλκή is the first element in a list of physical qualities (including μέγεθος, κάλλος and ἀνδρεία) in respect of which the mosquito proclaims himself superior.

2.22.2 ἀμύσσεις: a Homeric word used of female self-laceration (*Il.* 19.284; cf. 1.243). **στέρνον πλατύ . . .** 'Yes, your chest may be broad . . .' The mosquito concedes that the lion has some qualities. **τὴν κατόπιν οὖν αἰσχύνην οὐχ ὁρᾶις;** 'But when it comes to your nether regions – well (οὖν), can't you see how disgraceful they are?' A male lion's mane exaggerates its terrifying appearance when viewed from the front; its rear parts are less impressive. **κάλλος . . . αἱ τῶν λειμώνων κόμαι:** a reminiscence of 1.19.1–2, where L.'s beauty is compared to a meadow. **αἱ μέν:** i.e. the λειμώνων κόμαι. This is a true μέν *solitarium* (1.11.2n.; cf. 1.5.1n.), i.e. without any balancing force at all. Perhaps its nuance here is to pick up the last-mentioned item in the previous sentence (cf. τὸ μέν . . . τὸ δέ = 'the latter . . . the former').

2.22.3 τὴν δὲ ἀνδρείαν μου μὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦι καταλέγειν 'As for my manly vigour – well, it would be no joke at all (adverbial καί) to list examples of that'. μή + subj. (like the indic.: 1.5.7n.) can signal 'doubtful assertion', often ironically (a Platonic tic: Smyth §1801). **ὄργανον . . . ὅλος εἰμὶ πολέμου** 'all of me is an implement of war', i.e. 'I am one great weapon of war' (predicative ὅλος: cf. 1.13.2, ὅλος . . . τραῦμα ἦν, and 1.1.5n.). **σάλπιγγος:** the mosquito imagines his whine as a military bugle (cf. Ar. *Nub.* 165). **ὥστε:** in effect a connecting particle = οὖν (cf. 2.33.1, and ἐπεί = γάρ at 2.22.1). **αὐλητής:** a slight inconcinnity, since an αὐλητής should of course play an αὐλός (a flute with two pipes), not a σάλπιγξ (cf. καταυλῶν at 2.22.4 and ἐπηύλει 2.22.6). Perhaps we are to detect some comedy in this slide: the shift from the manly trumpet to the high-pitched flute (cf. Arist. Quint. 2.16 for the gendering of these instruments) may undermine the insect's manly self-presentation. **ἐμαυτοῦ . . . ὀϊστὸς καὶ τόξον γίνομαι** 'I become my own archer and arrow'. **τοξεύει . . . μου διαέριον τὸ πτερόν:** πτερόν has its secondary meaning 'wing' here, but there is also a play on the primary sense 'feather', since real arrows were fletched to aid flight. Underlying the mosquito's claim is the proverbial saying 'to be

shot by one's own feathers' (cf. τοῖς αὑτῶν πτεροῖς / ἁλισκόμεσθα, Aesch. fr. 139 *TGrF*, with parallels *ad loc.*), i.e. to be hoist with one's own petard. **ὁ . . . παταχθεὶς ἐξαίφνης βοᾶι:** a reminiscence of 2.7.1–2, where the bee stings (ἐπάταξε) Clio, who cries out (ἀνέκραγεν). **παρὼν οὐ πάρειμι . . . καὶ φεύγω καὶ μένω . . .:** the mosquito works up to a conclusion with two rhetorically impressive paradoxes. **περὶ τοῖς τραύμασιν:** περί + dat. can supply 'the cause or occasion, *on account of, by reason of*' (LSJ B.II.3).

2.22.4 ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ λόγων; ἀρχώμεθα μάχης: an allusion to the culmination of Homeric Aeneas' boast to Achilles (enough of the talking; now it's time to fight: *Il.* 20.251–8; cf. Q.S. 2.449–51). **εἴ τι ἄλλο ἄτριχον τῶν προσώπων** 'any other part of his face that was not protected by fur'. For this use of εἴ τις see 2.13.3n. **ταύτηι πλέον τὴν ὀργὴν ἐτίθετο παιδιάν** 'treated (LSJ τίθημι B.II.1) this anger all the more as a game'. On comparative advb. + ταύτηι see 1.1.10n. **ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐτίτρωσκε τοῖς χείλεσιν** 'continued hurting him, even on his lips'.

2.22.5 ἔκλινεν εἰς τὸ λυποῦν μέρος 'rocked (his head) towards the area with the pain', i.e. assuming that was where the mosquito would be. **ἀνακάμπτων ἔνθα τοῦ τραύματος ἡ πληγή** 'twisting back towards the point where the attack had caused the wound', a compressed phrase. τοῦ τραύματος is gen. of quality, i.e. the blow manifested itself in a wound. **τὸ σῶμα σκευάζων εἰς τὴν συμπλοκήν** 'angling his body to avoid being grabbed', lit.: 'contriving his body with a view to the clinch'. Satyrus imagines the mosquito ducking and feinting like a wrestler.

2.22.6 κενοὶ τῆς θήρας 'without catching their prey'. **παρειμένος ὀργῆι** 'exhausted (O'Sullivan παρίημι 2) by his display of rage'. **ἐπηύλει** 'piped exultantly'. The ἐπι- prefix signals the mosquito's vaunting over his foe, like a Homeric warrior's boast. **μέλος ἐπινίκιον:** epinician tunes could be played on the *aulos* (Pind. *Nem.* 9.8–9; Bacch. 2.11–14).

2.22.7 μακρότερον . . . ποιούμενος τῆς πτήσεως τὸν κύκλον 'widening the orbit of his flight'. **ἀπειροκαλίας** 'uncouthness', lit. 'inexperience of beauty'. The word belongs to the vocabulary of class snobbery, often expressed in this era in terms of degrees of receptivity to intellectual culture (cf. 1.8.4n.). **ὢ τῆς ἀνοίας:** like Croesus on the pyre (Hdt. 1.86–90), the mosquito comes to realise his own myopic arrogance, and to draw the appropriate moral lesson, only at the point of imminent death. On ὦ + gen. see 1.13.2n. **ἀράχνης χιτών:** the analogy between a spider's web and a woven cloth is an easy one (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1516; Eur. fr. 369.1 *TGrF*; *PMG* 836 (e) 6–7 = Philoxenus of Leucas). **ὥρα . . . καὶ σὲ . . . φοβεῖσθαι** 'you

too ought to fear' (see 1.2.3n. on ὥρα + inf.). Like Conops (2.21.4n.), Satyrus concludes with an *epimythion*, drawing a lesson from the fable. The comparison between Satyrus and the spider suggests that he intends to weave a complex plot (cf. μηχανή, 2.23.1) that will catch Conops unawares. **ἐγέλασεν:** on the mock-joviality of the episode see 2.19–25n.

2.23.1 ὀλίγας διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας: formulaic (cf. 2.11.1 and esp. 2.19.1). **γαστρὸς ἡττώμενον** 'prey to his belly', more evidence for the slave's moral incontinence (2.20.1n.). Here the acc. + part. construction does indicate indirect statement in the classical fashion (contrast 1.1.2, with n.; Intro. 4(d)). **ὡς δέ** 'But when . . .', in contrast with τὸ πρῶτον. **ἡ βελτίστη γαστὴρ κατηνάγκασε** 'that excellent belly of his compelled him'. βελτίστη is of course ironic, as so often, particularly in addresses (1.2.2n.; for non-vocative parallels cf. e.g. Luc. *Peregr.* 1, 12, 31; *Alex.* 33). The compelling power of the belly, particularly for the malnourished, is an Odyssean theme (ἀλλά με γαστὴρ / ὀτρύνει κακοεργός, Hom. *Od.* 18.53–4; also 6.133, 7.216–7, 15.344 etc.).

2.23.2 ἐγχεῖ τοῦ φαρμάκου κατὰ τῆς τελευταίας κύλικος 'he poured some of (partitive gen.: cf. 2.3.2n.) the drug into his final cup'. Drugging cups of wine is another Odyssean motif (Hom. *Od.* 2.329–30, 4.220–1, 10.235–8). The significance of the detail that Satyrus conserves some of the potion is revealed at 2.31.1. **μικρὸν διαλιπών, ὅσον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ φθάσαι** 'after a short while (just long enough for him to get back to his room beforehand)'. **τὸν ὕπνον καθεύδων τοῦ φαρμάκου:** τὸν ὕπνον is in effect a cognate acc., since there is no noun derived from καθεύδω. In the usual form of the idiom, the nature of the sleep is qualified either adjectivally (e.g. Luc. *Amor.* 45), or as here via a subsequent gen.: cf. Plutarch's (subjective) gen. at *Alex.* 32.2, 'sleep the sleep of the victorious' (ὕπνον καθεύδοι νενικηκότος).

2.23.3 κεῖταί σοι καθεύδων ὁ Κώνωψ: the allusion to Homer's Cyclops, who was similarly drugged to sleep by wine, represents the culmination of the Odyssean allusions begun at 2.23.1 (see n., and 2.23.2n.). Many editors print Κύκλωψ for Κώνωψ, but the joke is better for being subtler. The tone of ludic sophistication is reinforced by the alliteration of κ. **σὺ δὲ ὅπως Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀγαθὸς γένηι** 'over to you (σὺ δέ): make sure that you play the part of Odysseus well!' For the elliptical idiom ὅπως + subj. = 'see to it that' see Smyth §2204 and *GMT* §271–83. The presentation of Cl.'s nocturnal liaison in terms of Odyssean heroism is bathetically incongruous, especially in view of its eventual failure: grubby sexual intrigue does not normally merit epic analogy. In this respect, A. follows in a tradition of burlesque, subheroic versions of Homer's Cyclops (cf. Epicharmus, *Cyclops*;

Cratinus, *Odysseis*; Euripides, *Cyclops*; Aristophanes, *Wealth* 289–315; and Olson 2014). There may additionally be an obscene joke at work here, with the anticipated act of penetration imagined as the equivalent of the plunging of the stake into the Cyclops' eye (cf. Luc. *Pseudologist.* 27). **ἅμα ἔλεγε καὶ ἥκομεν** 'while he was talking, we arrived . . .' **ὑπελείπετο:** mid. rather than pass., i.e. 'left me on my own' (the imperf. puts the emphasis on the state in which he finds himself). **χαρᾶς ἅμα καὶ φόβου:** the same combination of emotions that the unnamed narrator detects in Europa's companions in the opening ecphrasis (1.1.7, with n.): Cl. shares the inexperienced young women's trepidatious excitement.

2.23.4 ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κινδύνου φόβος . . . τὸ λυπούμενον: a paradoxical version of the 'conflict of emotions' *topos* (1.1.7n.). **γίνεταί τι τοιοῦτον περὶ τὴν τῆς κόρης μητέρα** 'the following event (τι τοιοῦτον: 2.12.1n.) happened in relation to (περί: O'Sullivan II.2.a) the girl's mother'.

2.23.5 ἐδόκει . . . αἰδοῦς: on this sense of δοκεῖν (here = 'think that', i.e. perceive in the dream) see 2.11.1n. On αἰδώς see Intro. 6(a). Pantheia dreams of a bandit slicing open her daughter, evoking the widespread analogy between phallus and weapon (e.g. Henderson 1991 (1975): 120–4; cf. Long. 3.19.2, Apul. *Met.* 5.4.4, Hld. 1.18.5), and equating sexual penetration with violence inflicted by men on women (Morales 2004: 172–7). The dream has points of convergence with Cl.'s at 1.3.4: both involve a barely identified intruder violently cutting a human form with a weapon (a sickle at 1.3.4, a knife here), with a focus on the genital area (ἰξύος, 1.3.4; αἰδοῦς, 2.23.5). On αἰδώς = 'genitals' (by metonymy) see 1.1.10n. Pantheia's dream presents Cl. in a negative light, assimilating him to a violent bandit abducting (ἁρπασάμενον) her daughter – not so different, then, from Callisthenes (2.11–18n.; Intro. 6(a)). The dream might also be taken as proleptic of the fake human sacrifice of L. by real bandits at 3.15.3–5, an episode that similarly involves (or appears to involve) cutting open her belly. One may wonder how the narrator Cl. has come by the knowledge of Pantheia's dream (Intro. 4(c)): perhaps he heard of it from Clio (2.26.2), or from L. later on. **καταθέμενον ὑπτίαν** 'lying her on her back'. **ταραχθεῖσα . . . ὑπὸ δείματος . . . ἀναπηδᾶι:** recalling Cl.'s reaction to his own dream (ἀναθορὼν ἐκ τοῦ δείματος, 1.3.5). **ὡς εἶχεν** 'without delay' (2.10.3n., and cf. 2.24.1).

2.23.6 ἐγὼ . . . τὸν ψόφον ἀκούσας ἀνοιγομένων τῶν θυρῶν: the lovers' fumblings are similarly disturbed by a noise at 2.10.4 (and cf. Parthen. *Narr. Am.* 5.4). **διὰ τῶν θυρῶν:** commentators have been exercised by the question of how Cl. runs out when Pantheia is apparently occupying

the doorway (see Jacobs 1821: 2.565 and Vilborg 1962 *ad loc.*), but it is not too hard to imagine Cl. scurrying past the bewildered mother. **ἴεμαι δρόμωι** 'I set off at a run'.

2.24–5 The scene shifts: Cl. narrates a scene between Pantheia and L. that he did not personally witness, without explaining how he came by this information (Intro. 4(c)). As with Pantheia's dream (2.23.5n.), Cl.'s source is presumably either Clio's report at 2.26.2 or L. herself. The episode consists primarily of a pair of speeches: Pantheia's recrimination against L. (which has many of the features of a lament) and L.'s response in self-defence.

2.24.1–4 Pantheia's speech, though emotive, is rhetorically artful. After upbraiding L., she apostrophises the absent Sostratus and then herself, addressing each with an οἴμοι; she then returns to address L. as κακόδαιμον. The speech has some points of similarity to the laments of the father and Clinias over the corpse of Charicles in Book 1: in particular, the anaphoric οἴμοι (1.14.2, 1.14.3), the emphasis on 'destruction' (ἀπολέσηι, 1.13.3; ἀπολώλεκα, 1.14.1; ἀπώλεσας, 2.14.1), and the regret for a lost marriage (see 2.24.2n. for a precise verbal allusion). Additionally there are idioms that are characteristic of specifically female lament (2.24.2n., 2.24.3n.).

2.24.1 Ἡ δέ: Pantheia. **ὑπὸ ἰλίγγου** 'in a swoon'. **ἀνενεγκοῦσα** 'after recovering', with ellipsis of ἑαυτήν (LSJ ἀναφέρω II.7). **κατὰ κόρρης . . . τῶν τριχῶν:** Pantheia's unapologetically casual recourse to violence against her slave is notable (see Intro. 6(c)). The original, Attic idiom is ἐπὶ κόρρης ῥαπίζειν ('beat around the head'). Slaves are ever vulnerable to physical assault by their owners, particularly in contexts of 'low' sexual intrigue (e.g. Herod. 4.50–1, 5.10–25, 32–4, 7.5–16). **ὡς εἶχε** 'straightaway' (2.10.3n.), if the phrase should not be deleted as a scribal error (dittography after 2.23.5?).

2.24.2 σὺ μὲν . . . γάμους σεσύληκεν: a paradox expressed in a high rhetorical style. The μέν . . . δέ construction simultaneously contrasts Byzantium with Tyre, Sostratus with the unidentified assailant (τις), and the marital affairs of others (ἀλλοτρίων γάμων) with the situation of Sostratus' own daughter. **οἴμοι δειλαία:** addressed to herself rather than to L. (cf. 5.25.4). Self-address as δειλός in lamentation is distinctively female, and indeed used by mothers in memorable epic episodes (Hom. *Il.* 22.431, Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 1.279; also in non-lamentatory contexts, Hom. *Il.* 18.54, Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 3.262, Theocr. 15.69 etc.). **τοιούτους σοι γάμους ὄψεσθαι οὐ προσεδόκων:** echoing Charicles' father's lament for his son (ἄλλο σοι, τέκνον, προσεδόκων πῦρ ἀνάψαι, i.e. the wedding torch: 1.13.6).

2.24.3 ὄφελον ἔμεινας ἐν Βυζαντίωι 'If only you had stayed in Byzantium!' Unattainable wishes are usually expressed by A. using the indeclinable ὄφελον as a particle with the aor. or imperf. indic. (Intro. 4(d)). The counterfactual wish, often followed as here by νῦν δέ, is another feature of lamentation or recrimination, associated particularly but not exclusively with women (cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.762–4; Eur. *Med.* 1–16; Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 1.278–84; 3.773–6 etc.): like the conventional lamentatory contrast between past and present (Tsagalis 2004: 44–5) it expresses both a wish that the situation were otherwise and the speaker's powerlessness to change anything. **ὄφελον ἔπαθες πολέμου νόμωι τὴν ὕβριν** 'How much better for you to have been violated in the way of war!' A shocking sentence full of malice and recrimination, evoking the idea that rape is preferable to seduction (Lys. 1.32 notoriously claims that this is a principle of Athenian law; on this see Harris 1990). **κἄν:** for adverbial καί (= 'even'). **Θράιξ:** the Thracians, with whom the Byzantines are at war (1.3.6), were notoriously 'barbaric' in the Greek imagination. Pantheia may have in mind the mythical story of Thracian Tereus, the rapist of Philomela (the story is mentioned at 1.8.4 and 1.15.8, and told at 5.5). **οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ συμφορὰ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὄνειδος:** an unreal apodosis (responding to an implicit 'if that had happened') with ellipsis of ἄν. Pantheia echoes the opinion of Clinias, that compulsion (ἀνάγκη) mitigates the shame (αἰσχύνη) attached to the victim (1.10.6). **νῦν δέ** 'But as things stand', as so often after a counterfactual. **ἀδοξεῖς ἐν οἷς δυστυχεῖς** 'your reputation will suffer along with (lit. "in the same circumstances as") your fortunes'. This is the only point at which Pantheia acknowledges the impact these events may have had upon L. herself, rather than upon family honour.

2.24.4 ἐπλάνα δέ . . . οὐκ ἐθεασάμην: i.e. the dream deceived by suggesting knife-crime rather than penetration. καί is weakly adverbial. **τὰ τῶν ἐνυπνίων φαντάσματα· τὸν δὲ ἀληθέστερον ὄνειρον κτλ.:** A. may have in mind a technical distinction between ἐνύπνια = mere dreams and ὄνειροι = significant ones, i.e. those with predictive value (Artem. *Oneir.* 1.1). But of course predictive dreams can involve allegorical substitutions, as here, and are no less 'true' for that. **ἀθλιώτερον ἀνετμήθης τὴν γαστέρα** 'your belly was penetrated in a more disgraceful way'. γαστήρ = both 'stomach' and 'womb'. **αὕτη δυστυχεστέρα τῆς μαχαίρας τομή:** for the analogy between defloration and stabbing cf. Long. 3.20.1. **οὐδὲ οἶδά μου τῆς συμφορᾶς τὴν τύχην** 'I do not even know the outcome of the disaster that has befallen me,' i.e. whether penetration took place. For τύχη = 'outcome' cf. 1.3.6. **οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν:** on the 'gen. of cause . . . in exclamations' see Smyth §1407. **μὴ καὶ δοῦλος ἦν;** 'Surely he was not –

horrors! (adverbial καί) – a slave?' The sudden thought so fills Pantheia with revulsion that she can scarcely contemplate it (μή + indic. marks 'doubtful assertion': 1.5.7n.).

2.25.1–2: L. improvises a proudly assertive *apologia* to counteract her mother's words, blending truth (she has retained her virginity) with falsehood (she is unaware of the identity of the man, and she was not complicit in the act). Just as Pantheia expressed preference for violation rather than seduction (2.24.3n.), so L. attempts to absolve herself by claiming that she was on the point of being coerced (and thereby illustrates Clinias' claim that young women sometimes claim coercion as a means of deflecting their own complicity: 1.10.6, and Intro. 6(a)).

2.25.1 ὡς ἄν + part. clause indicates the grounds for L.'s renewed confidence (2.6.1n.). **μὴ λοιδόρει μου . . . τὴν παρθενίαν** 'Stop besmirching my virginity!' The prohibition with the pres. imper. suggests not merely that Pantheia should stop speaking in such terms, but that the accusations are themselves invalid (Smyth §1841). **οὐδὲν ἔργον μοι πέπρακται τοιούτων ῥημάτων** 'no act of the kind you described has been committed by *me*!' μοι (emphatically positioned) is the regular dat. of the agent after the perf. and pluperf. pass. (Smyth §1488–9); in later Greek this usage is largely restricted to constructions involving pronouns, inanimate subjects and verbs of doing and saying (George 2005: 94–101). ἔργον has, prima facie, a neutral meaning (L. has done no 'thing' wrong), but readers are inevitably reminded of Cl.'s favourite euphemism for the sexual act (1.9.4n.). The partitive gen. τοιούτων ῥημάτων has often been felt by editors to be awkward (how can an ἔργον belong to a class of ῥήματα?), so most print <ἄξιον> after ῥημάτων; but the meaning is clear, and the transmitted text probably reflects the semantic shortcuts of conversational Greek (see further Conca 1995: 135). **εἴτε δαίμων, εἴτε ἥρως, εἴτε λῃστής:** L. supplies two supernatural possibilities for the assailant, and one natural. δαίμονες were anonymous, terrestrial divine beings who bring about good or (more usually) bad events. Heroes were divinised humans who inhabited a particular locality, and could manifest themselves for good or ill (for a memorable example see Philostr. *Her.* 19.5–7). By invoking the possibility of (semi-)divine agents, L. seeks both to reinforce the impression of her own piety and to disguise the assailant's identity: if it was a supernatural figure, there is no point in exploring the question further. The final option exploits recent events: if Calligone was attacked by pirates, then why not also L.? ἥρως is emended from MSS ἔρως (unconvincingly defended by Conca 1995: 135 as 'una fine *climax* . . . Eros (in persona)').

2.25.2 φόβος γὰρ γλώττης ἐστὶ δεσμός: another generalising *sententia* (Intro. 4(b)), which however does important rhetorical work here, i.e. to forestall the depressingly predictable question: 'Why, if you were attacked, did you not simply cry out?' For the idea that fear causes speechlessness cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 259, Eur. *Supp.* 299–300, *IT* 1342–3; and in any case crying out loud can be thought unbecoming in a woman (Herod. 4.69–70). **ἓν οἶδα μόνον** 'one thing alone I know for sure', a rhetorically impressive opening to L.'s peroration (cf. 7.9.4, Hld. 1.25.4).

2.25.3 ἐδόκει κράτιστον εἶναι φεύγειν: the domestic phase of the narrative is drawing to a close, and the next beginning. κράτιστον = βέλτιστον. **βασανιζομένη:** slaves could be tortured to extract information (1.11.3n.).

2.26–30: The escape

A tense, dramatic sequence of events: for how long can the identity of L.'s nocturnal visitor be kept secret? Cl. and Satyrus go to Clinias' house to plan their escape; on the way they meet Clio, who has also decided to flee, and hear the full report of what happened between Pantheia and L. (thus perhaps explaining how Cl. could report the events that he did not witness: 2.23.5n., 2.24–5n.). Clio is spirited away by Clinias so as to save her from torture, and to prevent the truth from coming out. The scene shifts back to recriminations between Pantheia and L., and L.'s torments are described in detail (the episode has strong echoes of Cl.'s own solitary turmoil at 1.4.5, 1.6: see 2.29n.). Satyrus approaches her with the suggestion that she should join the escape, and she is only too happy to agree.

2.26.1 Δόξαν οὖν οὕτως εἰχόμεθα ἔργου 'So, with this plan agreed we applied ourselves to our task'. δόξαν (aor. part. of δοκέω) is acc. absolute (cf. συνδοκοῦν, 2.15.1); οὖν marks a new stage in the narrative (1.12.1n.). ἔχομαι ἔργου is idiomatic from the earliest prose writers onwards (Hdt. 8.11.1, Thuc. 1.49.7, Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.19 etc.). **σκηψάμενοι πρὸς τὸν θυρωρὸν ἀπιέναι πρὸς ἐρωμένην:** an inverted *paraklausithyron* (1.9.2n.). In erotic poetry, an autonomous male seeks entry to the house of a sequestered female; in *L&C*, the youthful Cl. is himself subject to control, and must seek the doorman's permission to get out of the home. **τὴν οἰκίαν . . . τὴν Κλεινίου:** a separate, two-storey (cf. ὑπερώιωι) house on the same gated estate (2.31.3–4). **λοιπόν:** adverbial, equivalent to ἤδη = 'now' (as in mod. Greek). **μόλις** 'grudgingly'. **ἐν ὑπερώιωι γὰρ τὸν θάλαμον εἶχε:** in a presumably all-male household, Clinias sleeps in the part of the house normally occupied by women (Hom. *Il.* 16.184 and Σ, Lys. 1.9–10, *Jos. et As.* 2.1 etc.).

2.26.2 ἐν τούτωι: 1.3.5n. **τὴν Κλειὼ κατόπιν ὁρῶμεν:** Cl. and Satyrus are still standing in the doorway, as the beginning of 2.26.3 makes clear. **ἦν . . . δρασμὸν βεβουλευμένη** 'she had resolved to run away'. δρασμός can be used of any kind of flight, but particularly in this era that of slaves and captives (cf. Char. 4.2.5, Luc. *Bis Acc.* 13, 24 etc.; cf. δραπέτης); contrast φεύγειν, used of the escape of the free (2.25.3, 2.26.3). In common with others of his age, A. uses βουλεύω only in the mid. form (hence the periphrastic pluperf.). **ἅμα** indicates not simultaneous events but a rapid sequence (LSJ A.3): first Clinias hears from Cl. and Satyrus, then the three men hear from Clio, then Clio hears from them. **ὅπως φύγοι:** there is no obvious reason for the adoption of ὅπως + opt. in an indirect construction that otherwise retains the indic. (cf. 1.9.1n.).

2.26.3 κἀγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν 'I'm coming with you'. Clio speaks assertively: the desperate situation has broken down social boundaries. Even so, Clinias will overrule her. **ἢν . . . περιμείνω . . . πρόκειται:** hybrid conditional (1.11.3n.). **θάνατός μοι πρόκειται, τῶν βασάνων γλυκύτερος:** i.e. the death she envisages will be a sweet relief from the tortures that will inevitably precede it.

2.27.1 τῆς χειρός μου λαβόμενος ἄγει τῆς Κλειοῦς μακράν: an act of authoritative control (1.2.3n.). μακράν (supply ἀπό: 1.2.2n.) functions like a preposition with the gen. meaning 'away from', 'out of earshot of' (not 'a long way away from'). **ταύτην . . . ὑπεξαγαγεῖν** 'to spirit Clio away', the ὑπ- prefix suggesting subterfuge. **κἂν οὕτω δοκῆι** 'and if (at that point) it seems like a good idea'. κἄν = καί (conjunctive) + ἐάν. **συσκευασαμένους ἀπελθεῖν** 'pack and leave'. Sending Clio away will buy them the time not only to reflect maturely after the rapid events of the night, but also to make practical preparations for a journey.

2.27.2 κατέλαβεν 'surprised' *in flagrante.* **ὃ . . . καταμηνύσων οὐκ ἔσται** 'and there will be no one to reveal it to her'. The masc. generalises the statement beyond its immediate application to Clio. **ἐκ μέσου** 'out of sight', a metaphor drawn from archaic and classical politics (where τὸ μέσον denotes the community's central public space). **κοινωνὸς γενήσεται τῆς ἀποδημίας:** Clinias implies here that he leaves out of loyalty to Cl., but it later becomes clear that his grief over Charicles played its part (2.34.7n.).

2.27.3 κελεύσας ἐμβαλέσθαι σκάφει: the last we hear of Clio. **αὐτοῦ** 'there' (Smyth §1449), as in the following sentence. **εἰ μὲν θελήσει . . . εἰ δὲ μή:** εἰ + fut. indic. might be taken to mark an 'emotional future condition' (Smyth §2328), i.e. indicating the conspirators' apprehensions about

the future; but A. is in general loose in his use of conditional constructions. **παραδόντας ἑαυτοὺς τῇι τύχηι** 'hand ourselves over to fate', like sailors in a storm (1.12.5n.). **ὀλίγον τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον τὸ λοιπόν** 'for what little of the night was left'. **ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν:** i.e. Hippias' house.

2.28.1 ὡς . . . ἦν ἀφανής 'when (it transpired that) she had vanished' (cf. 2.18.2, with n.). **οὐκ ἐρεῖς . . . τὴν συσκευὴν τοῦ δράματος;** 'Will you not reveal the workings of the plot?' οὐκ ἐρεῖς conveys imploring urgency. The phrase ἡ συσκευὴ τοῦ δράματος has two distinct connotations, difficult to capture simultaneously in English translation: (i) the underlying structure of a dramatic plot, which is not always visible to those caught up in it; (ii) the visual illusions created by stage machinery. Among A.'s contemporaries it is a byword for sophisticated deception (Luc. *Alex.* 25, Hdn. 3.12.9). **ἰδού:** 1.5.7n.

2.28.2 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐθάρσησε: i.e. even more than at 2.25.1. **τί πλέον . . . μείζονα;** once again, the emboldened L. demonstrates her grasp of rhetoric. Two parallel clauses each offer deliberative subjs., characteristic of heroic desperation in tragedy; in this instance, L. implies, it is her mother who is generating the impossible circumstances that constrain her. **εἰ παρθενίας ἔστι τις δοκιμασία, δοκίμασον** 'if there be a procedure for examining virginity, examine away!' L. knows full well that Pantheia can call upon no such scientific procedure: in the ancient world, virginity was primarily a social rather than a biological status. Greek medical culture (or at least those male representatives of it whose writings survive) had little understanding of the hymen, so whether a woman was a virgin or not was in practice unknowable except in the case of pregnancy (Sissa 1990; Ormand 2010: 165–8). Nevertheless, L. will eventually be subjected to a magical virginity test (8.12–14), in a cave near Ephesus.

2.28.3 ἔτι καὶ τοῦτο . . . λείπεται 'that's all we need', lit. 'that is what is still left in addition (adverbial καί)'. For the idiom cf. Char. 5.5.2, 7.5.3; Luc. *De merc. cond.* 17. **ἵνα καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων δυστυχῶμεν** 'that on top of our misfortunes they should be made public', lit.: 'that we should be unfortunate also with witnesses' (μετὰ μαρτύρων is predicative). The construction after ἵνα is not a result clause (as commonly in *L&C*: Intro. 4(d)) but an elliptical object clause (Smyth §§2209–19) in apposition to τοῦτο. **ἔξω:** sc. τῶν θυρῶν (2.5.1n.).

2.29 L.'s isolation draws out her desperate emotions, which are the precondition for her decision to escape. The description of her feelings is accompanied by a sententious generalisation about the effects of shaming

words. The episode shows general similarities to Ap. Rh. *Arg.* 3.616–64, where Medea grapples alone with her turbulent feelings: like Medea, L. must choose whether to stay with an oppressive parent or cut ties and elope with a lover. There are close parallels too with Cl.'s anguish after initially falling for L. in Book 1: like him (1.4.5, with n.), L. experiences conflicting emotions; like him, she waits until she is alone before expressing them (καθ' ἑαυτὴν γενομένη, 2.29.1; cf. 1.6.2); both experience sensory stimuli as weapons and wounds (1.4.4; 2.29.3–4), though in Cl.'s case it is the sight of L. rather than words that causes the overload; in both cases emotions are said to flow down through the eyes to the soul (1.4.4; 2.29.2, with n.); in both, the effect is experienced as a deluge (1.6.3; 2.29.1, 5) and as a wound (1.6.3; 2.29.3, 4). The effect of the analogy between the two passages is twofold. On the one hand, it creates a rare parity of expression between L. and Cl., reminding readers that her experiences must be at least as painful as his. On the other hand, we are inevitably left wondering how much of this 'really' reflects L.'s feelings, and how much has been ventriloquised by Cl., in his own distinctive style (Intro. 4(c)).

2.29.1 τῶν τῆς μητρὸς γεμισθεῖσα ῥημάτων: L. is 'stuffed' with her mother's accusations, as Cl. had been with L.'s face (γεμισθείς, 1.6.1n., 1.6.3; also 2.4.5). **παντοδαπή τις ἦν** 'she was at sixes and sevens'. For this usage of παντοδαπός cf. 3.23.1, 7.1.1; on redundant τις (taken closely with the adj.) see 1.15.2n. **ἤχθετο, ἠισχύνετο, ὠργίζετο:** the list of emotions underlines the parallel with Cl.'s experience at 1.4.5 (ἔπαινος, ἔκπληξις, τρόμος, αἰδώς, ἀναίδεια), although in this case the feelings are negative rather than mixed. **αἰδὼς . . . τρία τῆς ψυχῆς κύματα** 'Shame, sorrow and anger are three waves that engulf the soul'. The apophthegm captures the overpowering sensation of teenage guilt and (self-)recrimination; at the same time, the sententious generalisation encourages a therapeutic, analytical distance from the negative emotions. The use of the number three in association with the soul hints at the spiritual tripartitions of the classical philosophers (worked out most fully in Book 4 of Plato's *Republic*). Greeks often claimed that waves come in groups of three (τρικυμίαι), the third being the most powerful.

2.29.2 διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων εἰσρέουσα: shame affects the body in the same way as beauty does, streaming material particles into the soul via the body's apertures (cf. 1.4.4: διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν . . . καταρρεῖ). **τὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλευθερίαν καθαιρεῖ** 'destroys the eyes' autonomy', i.e. removes their capacity to see objectively. **ἡ λύπη . . . τῶι τῆς μανίας ἀφρῶι:** a psychological theory attributing destructive emotions to physiological causes. Shame is presented as an affliction of the eyes; grief as a dissolution of the 'soul',

which is located in the area of the chest; and anger as an overwhelming of the heart. On A.'s interest in psychology see Intro. 6(b). **περὶ τὰ στέρνα διανεμομένη** 'dispersing itself around the chest area', a phrase that has the ring of specialist medicine. **κατατήκει τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ζωπυροῦν** 'melts the fiery part of the soul'. The intention behind the metaphor is evident (sorrow attacks the 'hot', i.e. animated, parts of the normally-functioning soul), but its execution is, as so often with Cl.'s high-faluting discourse, clumsy (fire cannot be melted). **ἡ . . . ὀργὴ περιϋλακτοῦσα τὴν καρδίαν:** alluding to Hom. *Od.* 20.13–16, where the heart of the disguised Odysseus 'barks' (ὑλάκτει) at the sight of female slaves coming back from sleeping with the suitors (a *locus classicus* for Hellenistic and imperial psychology: see e.g. Chrysippus, *SVF* 906; Plut. *Mor.* 506b; Gal. *De Plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 2.11). **ἐπικλύζει τὸν λογισμὸν τῶι τῆς μανίας ἀφρῶι:** a lurching shift of imagery. A. imagines the submerging of the rational faculty by the 'foam' of madness. Whether this 'flooding' is another metaphor or describes a physiological process is unclear. λογισμός is in this era the standard, Platonically-derived word for the higher, rational capacity, imagined to be in a state of perpetual tension with the emotions. Anger could be conceived of as a kind of μανία that temporarily overmasters the λογισμός (e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 551a).

2.29.3 λόγος . . . τούτων ἁπάντων πατήρ 'it is speech that begets all of these (emotions)' (cf. 1.1.1n., 2.2.2n. on this metaphorical use of the language of parenthood). **ἔοικεν ἐπὶ σκοπῶι τοξοβολεῖν . . . ποικίλα τοξεύματα** '(speech) seems to shoot on target, hit the mark, and land on the soul the blows caused by its many kinds of arrow'. ἐπὶ σκοπῶι, 'on target', is without parallel, but there is no reason to suspect the transmission. τὰ βλήματα καὶ ποικίλα τοξεύματα are to be taken together in hendiadys. τοξοβολεῖν is an emendation for transmitted τόξον βάλλειν, which cannot mean 'shoot an arrow' for several reasons: (i) in such phrases elsewhere in extant Greek, βάλλειν means 'strike' (someone), with the arrow(s) in the instrumental dat.; (ii) elsewhere in *L&C* τόξον means 'bow', not 'arrow' (6.21.2 is ambiguous); (iii) the shift within the same sentence from sing. τόξον to plur. τοξεύματα is implausible if both mean 'arrows'. The verb τοξοβολεῖν is not found elsewhere in pre-Byzantine Greek, but it is an easy formation from τοξοβόλος (D.S. 26.18.1, *Anth. Pal.* 9.179.1, 12.181.4, etc.) on the analogy of λιθοβολεῖν, etc.; its unusualness, moreover, might explain the corruption. It is possible too that καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνειν (arguably superfluous after ἐπὶ σκοπῶι τοξοβολεῖν) was introduced by dittography following καὶ ἐπὶ τήν (but ἐπιτυγχάνειν in this sense is genuinely Achillean; cf. 3.13.4). **τὸ μέν ἐστιν αὐτῶι λοιδορίας βέλος** 'The first of its missiles consists of verbal abuse'. αὐτῶι (possessive dat.) refers to λόγος. **ἔλεγχος**

ἀτυχημάτων 'public examination of one's misfortunes'. **καὶ καλοῦσιν αἰδῶ τὸ τραῦμα** 'and this wound goes by the name of "shame"'.

2.29.4 ἴδιον δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων τῶν βελῶν 'What is distinctive about all these missiles is that . . .' **βαθέα μὲν τὰ βλήματα, ἄναιμα δὲ τὰ τοξεύματα:** an elegantly constructed antithesis. The clauses run in exact parallel, with each word that is not a particle ending in -α. The first clause is lent unity by alliteration of β, the second by alliteration of τ and the jingle ἄναιμα . . . τοξεύματα. The parallelism of the two clauses is emphasised by the homoioteleuton -ματα (with identical *clausulae* – – ⏑ ×, if we treat βλ as closing the preceding syllable: West 1982: 16–17). **ἓν . . . τούτων ἁπάντων φάρμακον:** the idea of 'one cure' is a cliché (Eur. *Bacch.* 283, Men. fr. 741 *PCG*, Theocr. 11.1–3), here enlivened by the additional idea that defence is the best form of attack. L. has found some measure of solace in her ripostes against her mother. **λόγος . . . θεραπεύεται** 'for speech, the tongue's missile, is healed by the missile of another tongue', i.e. when one is attacked, attacking someone else makes one feel better. γλώσσης βέλος stands in apposition to λόγος. The metaphor is mixed, but lent coherence by an underlying memory of the famous oracle given to the wounded Telephus: 'the one who wounded you will heal you' (ὁ τρώσας ἰάσεται and variants: see e.g. Char. 6.3.7). Plutarch analogously applies the saying to language (philosophy can be painful, but is good for you: *Mor.* 46f–47a; cf. Luc. *Nigr.* 38). **τῆς καρδίας ἔπαυσε . . . ἐμάρανε τὸ λυπούμενον** 'it checks the heart's anger and withers the soul's grief'. A more successful *sententia* (complete with gnomic aors.), combining parallelism and the rhyme τὸ θυμούμενον / τὸ λυπούμενον. These claims for the therapeutic power of language have a sophistic colouring: cf. Gorgias' claim that language 'can stop fear, take away grief (λύπην), stimulate joy and increase pity' (*Helen* (= D24 L–M) 8; cf. 2.35.1). There is a poetic quality to the expression, which suggests magical qualities: cf. Long.'s claim in his preface that his work 'will cure the sick and console the grieving' (pr. 3). On A.'s use of τό + part. see Intro. 4(d).

2.29.5 ἂν δέ τις . . . τὴν ἄμυναν 'But if one is compelled by a superior to keep one's silence and not fight back', lit. 'But if one suppresses one's defence by compulsion of the superior'. **τῇι σιωπῇι:** instrumental, i.e. 'as a result of one's inability to speak out'. **αἱ γὰρ ὠδῖνες . . . περὶ ἑαυτὰς πεφυσημέναι** 'the pains caused by the waves that derive from the speech (delivered by one's opponent) do not spurn the foam, but rise up and swell around themselves', a strikingly awkward sentence (especially clumsy since ἀποπτύω is elsewhere used of the sea 'spitting out' foam, LSJ 1). The imagery is of waves of suffering battering and deluging a ship, which represents the soul or the heart (see 2.29.2, where reason, located in the

heart, is said to be submerged by the ἀφρὸς of anger). **τοσούτων οὖν . . . συμφορῶν:** a 'bookending' formula, signalling the end of the description of L.'s grief. **οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν προσβολήν** 'could not withstand the assault' of emotions, another reminiscence of Cl.'s initial turmoil after falling in love (οὐ φέρω τὴν ἀνίαν, 1.9.1).

2.30.1 Ἐν τούτωι: 1.3.5n. **ἔτυχον πέμψαι** 'as it happened, I had sent'. τυγχάνω + inf. is common in late Greek (LSJ A.II.3; Intro. 4(d)). **ἀποπειρασόμενον τῆς φυγῆς** 'to test how she felt about running away'. The conspirators put into practice the plan to 'test out the girl' (ἀποπειραθῆναι τῆς κόρης) declared at 2.27.3. **πρὸς θεῶν ξένων καὶ ἐγχωρίων:** an expression unparalleled in its generality. In her desperation, L. is apparently prepared to supplicate Satyrus by any deity of his choice. **ἐξαρπάσατέ με τῶν τῆς μητρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν** 'steal me away from my mother's sight'. The verb reminds readers that legally speaking the flight of the lovers will be viewed as a ἁρπαγή (abduction/rape) perpetrated by Cl. (Intro. 6(a)).

2.30.2 εἰ . . . καταλίποιτε . . . ἀφήσω: L. switches from the 'less vivid' form of the conditional in the protasis ('if you were to **. . .**') to the 'vivid' in the apodosis ('I shall . . .'), perhaps to emphasise her resolve (but A. is loose in his use of conditional grammar: 2.27.3n.). **βρόχον πλεξαμένη τὴν ψυχήν μου οὕτως ἀφήσω** 'I shall tie a noose and use it to end my life (lit.: release my soul)', like the female lead of a tragedy (Loraux 1987). **τὸ πολὺ τῆς φροντίδος ἀπερριψάμην** 'most of my anxiety disappeared' (lit.: 'I threw away most of my care'), a characteristically self-centred response to L.'s distress. **δύο . . . ἡμέρας διαλιπόντες:** cf. 2.11.1, 2.19.1, 2.23.1. **ἀποδημῶν:** perhaps in Palestine (cf. 5.10.3).

2.31–2: Setting sail for Alexandria

Satyrus drugs Pantheia, her other slave and the doorman; then he, L. and Cl. escape, along with Clinias and two slaves, by carriage north along the coast first to Sidon and then to Beirut. There they chance upon a boat preparing to sail for Alexandria, which is described vividly and realistically (Rougé 1978).

2.31.1 τοῦ φαρμάκου: the drug previously procured and deployed at 2.23.1–2. **ἣν κατακοιμίσας** 'he had put to sleep', periphrastic pluperf. **τούτου διακονούμενος ἡμῖν ἐγχεῖ** 'while he was waiting on us, he poured some of this . . .' τούτου is partitive gen., the direct object of ἐγχεῖ (2.2.6n.).

2.31.2 ἑτέραν . . . θαλαμηπόλον: i.e. a replacement for Clio. **ἥν:** connecting relative (= αὐτήν). **καὶ αὐτῆς:** i.e. as he had done with Clio. **ἐπὶ τὴν**

τρίτην θήραν ἔρχεται 'he went hunting for his third prey'. **βεβλήκει:** unaugmented pluperf. (aor. in meaning). The verb extends the hunting metaphor begun with θήραν.

2.31.3 ὄχημα . . . εὐτρεπές: top-of-the-range transport is indispensable if they are to cover the distance to the port before their escape is discovered at daybreak. A. is not specific about the details of the carriage; possibly it was what the Romans called a *raeda*, a four-wheeled vehicle drawn by 8–10 mules or horses; these could be hired for group transport along public roads (Van Tilburg 2007: 54). **πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν:** Hippias appears to have an enclosed estate with a gatehouse, apparently unmanned; the carriage waits beyond this. Before reaching the πύλαι, however, they need to get through the θύραι of the house (hence the need to drug the θυρωρός), and traverse the intervening distance on foot. **ἐξεδέχετο** 'was ready for us'. **ἔφθασεν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ περιμένων αὐτός** 'he himself had reached it ahead of us and was waiting in it'. On ἐπί + gen. for motion see 1.2.3n. **περὶ πρώτας νυκτὸς φυλακάς** 'around the first watch of the night'. φυλακή is an originally military term denoting a period of sentry duty, the number of which could vary between three and five per night. A. seems to be thinking of three: they arrive at Sidon, almost half-way to their destination, during the second part; after the final leg of the journey, the ship leaves Beirut soon afterwards, at dawn. The division of the night into three and the use (at 2.31.5) of the word μοῖρα may indicate that A. has in mind Hom. *Il.* 10.251–3 (a passage directly quoted by Achilles the astronomer (1 di Maria): see Intro. 1).

2.31.4 καὶ γάρ: the sentence thus introduced, telling of Conops' fortuitous absence, explains an unexpressed aspect of the previous sentence, viz. that they escaped from the house unmolested. **διακονησόμενος** 'to run an errand'. **τὰς θύρας:** the outer doors of Hippias' house, usually overseen by the θυρωρός.

2.31.5 ἡμεῖς: the party from Hippias' house: L., Cl. and Satyrus. **δύο θεράποντες:** these slaves are presumably drivers of the carriage, since they are not mentioned again, and do not seem to board the ship. **τὴν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνα:** 'acc. of the way' (1.8.11n.); supply ὁδόν. The distance from Tyre to Sidon is around 35 km, which a fast carriage might cover in 3.5 hours. **περὶ μοίρας τῆς νυκτὸς δύο** 'around the second part of the night'; on μοῖρα (= φυλακή) see 2.31.3n. δύο may be corrupt (dittography after δύο in the previous sentence?): this is certainly the second phase of the night, but an ordinal number would be expected. It is possible, however, that A. has used a vernacular idiom. **Βηρυτόν:** some 45 km north of Sidon, perhaps four hours' travel by carriage. The fugitives' confidence that

they will find a ship is well-founded: Beirut was from the late Hellenistic period the largest port in the region, and a hub of international transport (*BNP* Berytus b; on A.'s account of the city against the backdrop of contemporary reality see Rougé 1978: 270–2). **τὸν δρόμον ἐποιούμεθα** 'we set off at speed' (inceptive imperf.).

2.31.6 ἐπὶ τοῦ Βηρυτίων λιμένος: on ἐπί + gen. see 1.2.3n. **σκάφος:** usually a smallish vessel (2.17.1n.), but A. is not precise in his use of nautical terminology. This ship is clearly large enough to carry a number of passengers and crew, as well as a lifeboat (3.3.1); it has a lower deck for sleeping (2.35.1). **μετεσκευαζόμεθα:** 'we began to board' (intransitive: cf. 3.1.3, 3.1.6, 8.14.3). **καὶ ἦν ὁ καιρὸς μικρὸν ἄνω τῆς ἕω** 'the time being a little before dawn'. This sentence functions as a subordinate causal clause explaining their haste. Prepositional ἄνω + gen. = 'before' is idiosyncratic, an extension of the advb. + gen. = 'earlier in respect of x' (e.g. ἄνω τοῦ γένους = 'earlier in family history', Pl. *Leg.* 9.878a, Ael. *DNA* 7.15, 9.58 etc.). **Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τὴν μεγάλην τοῦ Νείλου πόλιν:** Alexandria lies on the Mediterranean, at the point where the westernmost (known in antiquity as the Canopic or Heracleotic) branch of the Nile Delta debouches. A. is generally encomiastic towards (what is apparently) his home city: see Intro. 1(a).

2.32.1 τὸ πρῶτον is absolute ('first of all'), as elsewhere in *L&C*, i.e. it does not modify ὁρῶν (i.e. so as to mean 'as soon as I saw' or 'seeing for the first time'). **ἔδοξεν οὔριον εἶναι πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν τὸ πνεῦμα** 'it was judged that the wind was favourable for putting out to sea'.

2.32.1–2 θόρυβος ἦν πολύς . . . τὴν ναῦν: a striking ecphrasis of a ship setting out, with a vivid focus on the sights and sounds; as so often in such tableaux, the tense is the imperf.

2.32.1 θόρυβος . . . πολύς: the three gens. in the clauses that follow may be taken as defining gens., i.e. 'a great hubbub *that consisted in* . . .' (Smyth §§1323–4); alternatively (there is no difference in meaning) they may be taken as a series of temporal-causal gens. absolute. The asyndetic listing of different types of noise to describe a chaotic scene looks to Hom. *Il.* 4.450–1, a much-imitated passage (cf. Thuc. 7.71.4, Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.40). **ἑλκομένων τῶν κάλων** 'of the cables being hauled'. The cables (κάλως) are used to hoist the gathered sails up the masts (Rougé 1978: 268) before they are unfurled (καθίετο, 2.32.2).

2.32.2 ἡ κεραία περιήγετο 'the yard-arm was being swung' (κεραία LSJ II.1; Casson 1971: 232). Ships in A.'s day typically had a central mast with a

fixed square sail (and usually a topsail too), and a foremast with a smaller square sail. For navigation, the foremast could be rotated clockwise or counterclockwise on the horizontal axis by manipulating the yard-arm (a beam set perpendicular to the mast). See Casson 1971: 240–3. This particular vessel is also steered by a rudder (πηδάλιον, 3.3.1) controlled by the pilot (κυβερνήτης). **τὸ ἱστίον καθίετο** 'the sail was being lowered', i.e. unfurled. **ἀπεσαλεύετο** 'bobbed out to sea' (2.17.1n.). **τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀνέσπων:** Cl. departs from strict chronological sequence (anchors would have to be hauled before setting out to sea). **ὡς αὐτὴν πλέουσαν:** ὡς = ὥσπερ. From the perspective of one with little or no experience of sea travel, it seems that the ship is a fixed point and the land is sailing away into the distance. **παιανισμὸς . . . καλοῦντες:** sea-travel being a risky business, invocation of gods was a prudent prelude. A παιανισμός was almost always performed by a male collective, involving either a choral hymn to Paean or (more likely here) a collective raising of the distinctive cry ἰὴ παιάν. The god Paean was identified from the archaic period with Apollo, but the range of contexts appropriate for the *paean* greatly exceeded those of the god's realm, covering any time of rejoicing or apprehension (including sea travel: e.g. Eur. *IT* 1403–5; see more generally Rutherford 2001: 3–182). These sailors are presumably Greek, or at least Hellenised. **πολλή τις εὐχή . . . καλοῦντες, εὐφημοῦντες:** a mild anacolouthon (one might have expected gen. absolutes). πολλή τις εὐχή (understand ἐγίγνετο) is taken as equivalent to πολλὰ ηὔχοντο, upon which the plur. parts. depend. τις is redundant (1.15.2n.). **θεοὺς σωτῆρας καλοῦντες** 'calling on the saviour gods' (not 'calling on the gods to protect them'). Although individual gods (especially Zeus) were surnamed Σωτήρ already in the archaic period, dedications to the θεοὶ σωτῆρες are common in Greek inscriptions only from the Hellenistic period, usually either narrowly in relation to healing cults (e.g. *IG* IV² 1.571 = *SEG* 41.1085); or, in the Ptolemaic world, in connection with the cult of the Ptolemies, who were seen as protectors of their subjects in a range of contexts (e.g. *SEG* 36.1220). A. may be showing traces of his Alexandrian origin here: the famous lighthouse at Pharos (cf. 5.3–5) bore a dedication to the θεοὶ σωτῆρες on behalf of sailors (Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 62). **εὐφημοῦντες** 'praying', with dependent acc. + inf. The word originally indicated the kind of speech appropriate to mystery cults, and in particular ritual silence (cf. 1.10.5); A. uses it here, by extension, of religious discourse generally. **ἤιρετο**: the wind 'picked up', 'began to gust'.

2.33–4: Menelaus

Onboard they meet a young Egyptian man, Menelaus, who tells his story: he accidentally killed his boyfriend in a hunt. This is the only major analepsis in the entire romance that is without direct relevance

to the main story (Hägg 1971: 202, 300–1 and Intro. 4(c)), though it is thematically significant in that it mirrors the story of Charicles in Book 1 in a number of particulars (2.34.2n., 2.34.3nn.; and see esp. 2.34.7, where Clinias specifically recalls Charicles). The tale has a folkloric feel, evoking Homeric stories of boar hunts (*Il.* 9. 529–99; *Od.* 19.392–466), and in particular Herodotus' account of Adrastus, who, though mandated by Croesus to protect his son Atys, accidentally kills him in a boar hunt (Hdt. 1.35–43; see Aly 1921: 38–40 on the folk motifs there; see more generally Graverini 2009, comparing Apul. *Met.* 8.4–5, and listing parallels for the erotic theme of paired hunters (64–79)). The episode also recalls the mythical death of the beautiful Adonis (also gored by a boar). The motif of self-imposed exile after accidentally killing a friend or relative is another traditional touch (e.g. Q.S. 1.18–26; cf. Schlunk 1976). Allusion is made to the story of Hippothous and Hyperanthes in Xen. Eph.'s novel (2.34.1n.) – a significant intertext, given that it is the only other homoerotic embedded narrative in the extant romance corpus (Intro. 2(a), 4(c)). There may also be echoes of the celebrated lion hunt undertaken in north Africa by the emperor Hadrian and his boyfriend Antinous, after which Antinous soon died (Intro. 1). The tale reveals Menelaus to be an ally to Clinias in his preference for boys over girls (κοινωνὸν ἔρωτος, 2.35.2; Intro. 6(a)); and indeed Menelaus will be an important companion until Cl.'s departure for Ephesus at 5.15.

2.33.1 νεανίσκος: if the term is being used precisely, Menelaus should be an eighteen- or nineteen-year-old (like Cl.: 1.2.1, with n.). **παρασκηνῶν** 'occupying the next pitch', a metaphor from military encampment. **φιλοφρονούμενος ἡμᾶς συναριστᾶν ἠξίου** 'generously invited us to take breakfast with him'. As in the *Odyssey*, an exchange of stories is preceded by a hospitable meal. **παρέφερεν** 'served'. **ὥστε** 'And so . . .', equivalent to a connecting particle such as οὖν (2.22.3n.). **εἰς μέσον** 'in the middle', so that all could share (2.27.2n.). **ἤδη δὲ καὶ λόγον** 'and in due course conversation too'.

2.33.2 πόθεν . . . καὶ τίνα σε δεῖ καλεῖν; a traditional form of greeting, recalling the Homeric τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; (*Od.* 1.170, 10.325, 14.187, etc.) – perhaps appropriately for a character called Menelaus whose story contains Homeric themes (2.33–4n.). **τὰ . . . ὑμέτερα τίνα** 'What's your (plur.) story?'

2.33.3 τίς οὖν ἡ πρόφασις ὑμῖν τῆς ἀποδημίας; 'So, what's the reason for your travel abroad?' For Menelaus a voyage to Egypt is a homecoming; for Phoenicians it is an ἀποδημία**.**

2.34.1 τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον . . . θήρα δυστυχής 'In sum, the reasons for my travels are a cursed romance and an unlucky hunting trip', lit.: 'The summary of my travel is . . .' μέν *solitarium* (1.5.1n., 1.11.2n.) suggests an necessary contrast between the overview condensed into this sentence and the subsequent itemisation of events. The phrase ἔρως βάσκανος καὶ θήρα δυστυχής has a compressed, epigrammatic elegance to it (the syllabic symmetry is pronounced). βάσκανος might, but need not, suggest that Menelaus was actively cursed, perhaps by a rival casting the 'evil eye', and hence sabotaged by a malign demonic force (a βάσκανος δαίμων: see e.g. Char. 1.1.16, 3.2.17, 6.2.117, and more generally Dickie 1991 on A.'s contemporaries' interest in this phenomenon). Embedded narratives in A. commonly begin with a proleptic indication of the contents (Hägg 1971: 234–7), but this is the only explicitly self-reflexive reference in *L&C* to a κεφάλαιον or a narrative 'summary' (on which see further Whitmarsh 2010b). **ἤρων μειρακίου καλοῦ** 'I was in love with a handsome lad', echoing the opening of Hippothous' narrative at Xen. Eph. 3.2.2 (ἠράσθην μειρακίου καλοῦ), via Clinias' story (μειρακίου . . . ὁ ἔρως ἦν, 1.7.1, with n.); on this allusive nexus see Intro. 4(a). There is no implied age difference between the two lovers: νεανίσκος (used of Menelaus, 2.33.1) suggests late teens, and μειράκιον anything upwards of that (1.7.1n.). **ἐπεῖχον τὰ πολλά, κρατεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνάμην:** 'I tried to restrain him (from hunting) for the most part, but I could not control him'. The language presents Menelaus as a force for civilised order, and his boyfriend as chaotic and wild: cf. 1.12.5 (Charicles can no longer control the horse's reins, τῶν . . . ῥυτήρων οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δυνάμενος) and 2.1.1 (Cl. οὐ . . . ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτοῦ . . . κρατεῖν). **ἐπὶ τὰς ἄγρας:** hunting was an activity of the Greek and Hellenised elite throughout antiquity, and from classical times onwards had strong associations with pederastic courtship (Barringer 2002: 70–124).

2.34.2 τὰ πρῶτα ηὐτυχοῦμεν: the first of several reminiscences of Charicles' horse-riding venture, which he undertook at a gentle pace τὰ πρῶτα (1.12.2). **τὰ λεπτὰ . . . τῶν θηρίων:** perhaps hares and deer, which would be killed by arrows, spears or dogs (Xen. *Cyn.* 5–6, 9).

2.34.3 ἐξαίφνης δὲ σῦς τῆς ὕλης προπηδᾶι: another echo of the Charicles episode, where the horse ἐς ὕλην ἐπήδησε, 1.12.5. **ἐπιστρέφει τὴν γένυν** 'swung its jaws around', as if the boar were a lion (cf. 2.22.4). **ἕλκε τὸν ἵππον, μετένεγκε τὰς ἡνίας** 'Pull on the horse! Change the rein!' i.e. swerve aside. 'Changing the rein' involves slackening or tightening the tension between the rider's hands and the bit; doing so differentially makes the horse change direction. The procedure is described at Xen. *De re eq.* 7.13–18. **πονηρὸν τὸ θηρίον** 'the beast is a brute!' Clinias used the same phrase

to describe the horse he gave Charicles (1.14.2). **σπουδῆι ἔτρεχεν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτόν** 'began to make for him at a charge'. ὡς may add an element of doubt to ἐπί ('as if to attack'); alternatively it may simply be redundant (1.1.7n.).

2.34.4 συνέπιπτον 'charged towards'. As the (inceptive) imperf. and subsequent events clarify, the impact has not yet occurred. **πατάξηι** 'gore'. **ἐναγκυλωσάμενος τὸ ἀκόντιον** 'loading my spear into its thong', the leather strap used to hurl it. Using weapons while on horseback was a difficult procedure, requiring practice and skill (Xen. *De re eq.* 8.10–11). **παραθέον** 'charging across' the spear's trajectory between Menelaus and the boar. **ἁρπάζει τὴν βολήν** 'took the blow'.

2.34.5 τίνα οἴει με τότε ψυχὴν ἔχειν; τίνα = ποίαν (cf. adjectival τις = 'a kind of', 1.6.4n.). In this and the following sentence, A. plays on two meanings of ψυχή, 'soul' (i.e. 'feelings', 'mood') and 'life'. The phrase, characteristic of forensic oratory (τίνα με οἴεσθε ψυχὴν ἔχειν, ps.-Dem. [= Apollod.] *Contr. Polycl.* 62; Lys. *In Andoc.* 23, *In Diog.* 12; cf. Eur. *Or.* 526), foreshadows the transition to the trial episode. **εἰ καὶ ψυχὴν εἶχον ὅλως** 'if indeed I had a life at all'. This use of ὅλως implies negation by way of implicit correction of the previous sentence (LSJ **ὅλος** III.3). **ὡς ἂν ἄλλος τις ἀποθάνοι ζῶν:** ὡς . . . ἀποθάνοι is subordinate to ζῶν, i.e. 'living as I was a life that was like another's death'. **τὸ δὲ οἰκτρότερον, τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγέ μοι:** the extension of the hands is in general a request for compassion (cf. Hdt. 1.45.1). A. seems to borrow directly from Xen. Eph. 1.14.6 (Habrocomes finds the sight of his tutor drowning 'the most pitiable thing' (ἐλεεινότατον) and reaches out to him (τὰς χεῖρας ἐξέτεινε)). **οὐκ ἐμίσει με** 'he refused to blame me'. **τῆι φονευσάσηι . . . δεξιᾶι** echoes the literary *locus classicus* for forgiveness, Priam's kissing of Achilles' χεῖρας / δεινὰς ἀνδροφόνους (Hom. *Il.* 24.478–9).

2.34.6 οὐκ ἄκοντα 'and I put up no resistance'. **καὶ γάρ** 'and in fact'. **θανάτου . . . ἐτιμώμην ἐμαυτῶι:** echoing the penalty proposed by Meletus for Socrates, and ultimately accepted by the jury (τιμᾶται . . . μοι ὁ ἀνὴρ θανάτου, Pl. *Ap.* 36b). τιμάομαι and compounds are used in a technical sense for the act of a defendant proposing or jurors decreeing (cf. προσετιμήσαντο below) a sentence. The episode foreshadows Cl.'s false self-accusation in court at 7.7 (esp. 7.7.6); both episodes look not only to Chaereas' self-denunciation at Char. 1.5.4–5 but also to imaginary declamatory exercises (Webb 2007: 532, 536). **ἐλεήσαντες:** similarly at Char. 1.5.6–7 the jurors acquit Chaereas out of compassion for his pitiable state. **τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ:** *sc.* πατρίδα. **καταίρω** 'return' (from exile), the intransitive use of the verb (for κατέρχομαι: see LSJ II).

2.34.7 Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, ἀναμνησθεὶς Χαρικλέους '"allegedly for Patroclus", but really in memory of Charicles'. When Patroclus' corpse is returned, Achilles' female slaves weep Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, but really for their own sorrows (Hom. *Il.* 19.301–2: cf. Char. 8.5.2, Hld. 1.18.1). The attention drawn to Clinias' act of recall alerts readers to the parallels between Menelaus' tragedy and his own. **καὶ σέ τι τοιοῦτον ἐξήγαγε;** 'Is it something of this kind that has led to your departure, too?' A subtle hint (on A.'s part) that grief for Charicles may have played its part in Clinias' otherwise undermotivated decision to leave Tyre.

2.35–8: The erotic debate

Cl. attempts to relieve the general gloom by introducing a debate on the relative merits (from a male perspective) of love for women and for boys, a type of discussion found in other authors of the imperial era (see esp. Plut. *Mor.* 750b–52d and (ps.?-)Luc. *Amor.* 19–49; for the wider tradition see Wilhelm 1902 and Goldhill 1995: 82–111). Other such discussions of the era have at least a token moral component, but A.'s is focused almost entirely upon the question of pleasure (ἡδόνη). Such debates find their origin in Plato's *Symposium*, another learned discussion in an all-male (L. is sleeping below deck: 2.35.1) context about the nature of ἔρως. Plato's Pausanias in particular compares the two kinds of love, arguing for the superiority of the 'heavenly' kind (i.e. for boys) over its 'vulgar' counterpart (Pl. *Symp.* 180c–85e). Menelaus alludes directly to Pausanias' speech in Plato (2.36.2n.), and affirms the superiority of boys by (i) invoking a Platonic metaphysics that associates women with the low body and boys with the pure, elevated spirit (2.36.3nn.), and (ii) borrowing from mythology to support his claim, and in particular the story of Ganymede's apotheosis. Menelaus' speech mirrors some of the erotic principles proposed by Clinias in Book 1 (2.36.1n., 2.36.2n., 2.36.3n.). Cl. counters (i) in terms of Aristotelian metaphysics, arguing that the brevity of male beauty points to its changeability and mortality (2.37.1n.); and (ii) by attacking Menelaus' mythological arguments. Cl. then offers a detailed account of 'heterosexual' pleasure, describing *inter alia* kissing with tongues and female orgasm; an episode that has, historically, embarrassed its squeamish translators (Nakatani 2005: 39–41; on the importance of kisses in *L&C* see 1.17.2n.). Given that Cl. attributes his sexual experience to prostitutes, it seems likely that this section evokes the ancient erotic manuals attributed to *hetairai* such as Philaenis of Samos (cf. 1.7–11n.). Strikingly, the emphasis in Cl.'s closing speech is primarily upon the female's pleasure, and upon the male's role in enhancing it; a rare

instance in ancient literature of a male celebrating female sexual experience. Menelaus responds with an argument from nature, associating women with cosmetic artifice and boys with natural innocence; borrowing now from Xenophon of Athens (2.38.3n., 2.38.4n.), he imagines sex with boys as an extension of wrestling, a typically manly activity.

The debate plays several interrelated roles in the narrative: (i) it shifts into the realm of 'theory' some of the themes that have been played out in narrative form in Books 1–2, in particular the claimed contrast between the transience of male beauty (1.8.9: see 2.36.1n. and 2.36.2n.) and the longevity of 'heterosexual' relationships; (ii) it solidifies the perception of a fundamental distinction in kind between 'homosexual' and 'heterosexual' desire, one of the themes of the novel as a whole (Intro. 6(a)); (iii) it contributes to the characterisation of Cl. and his peers as a learned, elite homosocial group, exchanging literary and philosophical reminiscences and actively reflecting upon their own erotic experiences – while competing creatively and playfully, responding to and capping each others' philosophical and mythological points. No victor is pronounced (although Menelaus has the last word). The book closes in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea, on a peaceful note – for now.

2.35.1 βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς τῆς λύπης ἀπαγαγεῖν: as elsewhere in *L&C* (esp. 1.16.1 and 2.20.4, where the introductory formulae are similar: βουλόμενος . . . εὐάγωγον . . . παρασκευάσαι / βουλόμενος . . . ἀγαγεῖν), language is credited with the power to transform emotions. Cl. is attempting what philosophers would call a *consolatio* or παρηγορία (cf. 1.13.1, 3.16.1, 4.10.1, 7.6.6 and more generally Kassel 1958). The fifth-century sophist Gorgias claimed the magical power of language to remove grief (*Helen* (= D24 L–M) 8 δύναται . . . λύπην ἀφελεῖν; 10 ἀπαγωγοὶ λύπης; cf. also *L&C* 2.29.4). **ἐμβάλλω λόγον ἐρωτικῆς ἐχόμενον ψυχαγωγίας** 'I interjected a speech pertaining to (LSJ ἔχω C.5(a)) erotic entertainment'. There is a faint allusion here to the drug that the Homeric Helen places in (εἰς . . . βάλε, *Od.* 4.220) the cups of Telemachus, Pisistratus and Menelaus, a drug that has the effect of removing sadness (*Od.* 4.221–6). In imperial times this episode was often read as a metaphorical description of the diverting effects of story-telling or rhetoric (Plut. *Mor.* 614c; Ael. Ar. 47.1; Himer. *Or.* 16.1–2; generally on the drug-like properties of persuasive language see Gorgias, *Helen* (= D24 L–M) 14). **καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ Λευκίππη παρῆν:** γάρ points to the explanation for why Cl. felt it permissible to broach this risqué subject. οὐδέ = οὐ + weakly adverbial καί ('in fact'). L.'s absence from the discussion is perhaps intended to recall Plato's *Symposium*, where the solitary female present (a flautist) is dismissed before the men talk (176e).

2.35.2 ὑπομειδιῶν 'with a sly smile', indicating irony (cf. 1.1.13, and 2.21.5 ἠρέμα μειδιῶν). **ὡς παρὰ πολὺ κρατεῖ μου Κλεινίας** 'By what a margin (παρὰ πολύ: cf. 6.1.3) Clinias defeats me!' ὡς is exclamatory. **ἐβούλετο γὰρ λέγειν κατὰ γυναικῶν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει:** i.e. Clinias had (allegedly: but this is a mere pretext for Cl.'s change of topic) been planning to deliver a misogynist oration, as he did at 1.8.1–9. κατά signals that the debate will be based on denunciation: conversely in Lucian's *Dialogue on Love* the interlocutors speak ὑπὲρ θηλειῶν and ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν (30). **ῥᾴιον δ' ἂν εἴποι νῦν ἤτοι** 'Now, however, he would surely (ἤτοι) find it easier to speak'. **κοινωνὸν ἔρωτος:** i.e. one who shares his sexual preference.

2.35.3 πῶς = τί ('why': cf. 2.6.2, 2.37.4). **ἐπιχωριάζει νῦν** 'is all the rage these days'. This use of ἐπιχωριάζω is an extension of the root meaning, 'be in place'. On the possible reference to A.'s own time (and in particular to Hadrian and Antinous) see Intro. 1(a). **οὐ γάρ** 'Yes (it is indeed popular), for is it not the case that . . .?' **τοῦτο ἐκείνου:** the two neut. elements refer to the general fields of desire for males and females respectively. **ἁπλούστεροι** 'more straightforward', in implicit contrast to the adornment and subterfuge adopted by women (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 751a, Luc. *Amor.* 39–44; Menelaus will return to this theme at 2.38.2–3). **δριμύτερον εἰς ἡδονήν** 'a more intense spur to pleasure', lit. 'more intense in relation to pleasure'. As his exposition will clarify, what he means is that the flourishing of male beauty within a narrow span generates a concentrated power.

2.35.4 ποῖον δριμύτερον 'what do you mean, "more intense"?' For this use of ποῖος (emended from the majority MSS reading ποῖ) in ironic quotation of the previous speaker see 2.6.3n. **ὅ τι παρακῦψαν μόνον οἴχεται** 'when it disappears after it has only just peeked out'. The relative is the indefinite ὅστις because of the doubt Cl. is casting on the existence of Menelaus' intense pleasure (Smyth §2496). The short-lived nature of male beauty, Cl. argues, limits its power (a similar argument is made at Luc. *Amor.* 25). **τῶι τοῦ Ταντάλου πόματι:** Cl. alludes to the famous story of Tantalus' punishment in the underworld: endlessly thirsty and hungry, he saw the water recede from him when he bent to drink it, and the fruit on the trees blown aside when he reached for it (Hom. *Od.* 11.582–92). For 'tantalisation' as a metaphor for desire cf. Lucr. 4.1097–1104 (with Hardie 2002: 158–9); *Anth. Pal.* 5.246, 12.175. The analogy with Tantalus, one of the canonical 'underworld sinners', may provide a rare (in *L&C*) hint that 'homosexuality' is turpitudinous (perhaps exploiting the mythic variant that Tantalus' crimes included raping Ganymede: Phanocles fr. 4 *CA*).

2.35.5 ἐν ὧι πίνεται πέφευγε 'it slips away even as it is being drunk'. ἐν ὧι is temporal, and πέφευγε an 'empiric perf.' (similar in meaning to a gnomic aor. such as the following ἀπῆλθεν: 1.9.3n.). Exploiting the tantalising metaphor, Cl. imagines the 'homosexual' lover as reaching for the boy's beauty, which then slips away (i.e. the boy attains adulthood) while he is 'drinking' from it. **οὐχ εὑρὼν πιεῖν:** οὐχ = οὐδέν (cf. Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 28). **ἄλυπον ἔχοντα τὴν ἡδονήν** 'with no pain mixed in with his pleasure' (ἄλυπον is predicative).

2.36.1 τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς ἡδονῆς: similarly at 2.34.1 Menelaus began by identifying τὸ κεφάλαιον ('the main point'). **ποθεινὸν . . . τὸ ἀκόρεστον:** building on the Platonic idea of desire (πόθος) as a form of craving or lack (*Crat.* 420a; cf. *Symp.* 203b–c). This is the founding principle (κεφάλαιον) of Menelaus' theory of desire. **τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἰς χρῆσιν χρονιώτερον τῶι κόρωι μαραίνει τὸ τερπνόν** 'for that which is experienced for a longer period leads to satiation, and wilts the pleasure'. As he expatiates, Menelaus' language becomes complex and metaphorical, and his syntax elaborate. His words carry an echo of Clinias' protestation that marriage μαραίνει τὴν ἀκμήν of a boy's beauty (1.8.9). μαραίνει and ἀνθεῖ (see next n.) introduce the 'flower theme' (Intro. 5(b)). **τὸ δὲ ἁρπαζόμενον . . . μᾶλλον ἀνθεῖ:** i.e. more than what is not snatched. ἁρπαζόμενον responds to Cl.'s taunt that Tantalus' water (= boys' beauty) ἁρπάζεται (2.35.5). ἀεί modifies the entire sentence, i.e. 'It is always the case that . . .' **οὐ γὰρ γεγηρακυῖαν ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν** 'for the sweetness it contains has not grown old' (γεγηρακυῖαν is predicative). **ὅσον ἐλαττοῦται . . . ἐκτείνεται πόθωι** 'is expanded by desire to the same degree that it is reduced by time', a clever apophthegm capturing the paradox that extension of time reduces beauty, whereas compression intensifies it.

2.36.2 τὸ ῥόδον . . . φυτῶν: developing the flower theme, Menelaus echoes Clinias' words to Charicles at 1.8.9: 'do not hand over an εὔμορφον . . . ῥόδον to be trampled by an ugly farmer'. For the analogy between the brief flowering of the rose and that of human beauty cf. Philostr. *Ep.* 51, 55; *Anth. Pal.* 11.53. **δύο . . . κάλλη . . . τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον:** an unmissable allusion to Pausanias' speech in Plato's *Symposium* (2.35–8n.), and to the famous division of Aphrodite and Eros into two guises, Πάνδημος and Οὐράνιος, i.e. love for women and boys respectively (180e), a widely cited passage (*Anth. Pal.* 6.340 = Theocr. *Ep.* 13, Plut. *Mor.* 748d, 764b, Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 7.1, etc.). This passage has already been evoked by Clinias at 1.8.7 (see n.). **πλανᾶσθαι** 'roam this world', suggesting personification in the form of Aphrodite (as in the Platonic antecedent). **ὥσπερ τοῦ κάλλους αἱ χορηγοὶ θεαί** 'just like the goddesses who preside over

beauty', i.e. just as (in the Platonic account: see n. above) there are two Aphrodites. For this use of χορηγεῖν see 1.10.7n.

2.36.3 τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον . . . τοῖς σώμασιν: Menelaus borrows from Platonic metaphysics. According to Plato, the body is a lesser, mundane entity and mortal, whereas the soul is divine and immortal (e.g. *Phd.* 79d–81a); the souls of lesser people are weighed down by bodily concerns, whereas the philosopher recognises that the soul is 'bound and glued in the body' (διαδεδεμένην ἐν τῶι σώματι καὶ προσκεκολλημένην, *Phd.* 82e; cf. *Rep.* 7.517b) and seeks to redirect it to a higher, divine, abstract realm (*Phd.* 81d–83c). **ἔρριπται κάτω** 'is cast down to the lower realm'. **περί** 'among'. **τῆς οὐρανίας τοῦ κάλλους ἀνόδου:** the language of celestial ascent suggests the Platonic 'ladder' climbed by the philosopher, who begins by observing beauty in boys and proceeds to a higher understanding of beauty itself (*Symp.* 211c–d). **ἄκουσον Ὁμήρου λέγοντος:** 1.8.2n. **Τὸν . . . μετείη**: Hom. *Il.* 20.234–5, of Ganymede, the Trojan youth (hence Φρυγός at 2.36.4) 'who was the most beautiful of mortal men' (*Il.* 20.233; cf. *Hom. Hymn. Aphr.* 203). Long.'s pederastic Gnathon also invokes him (4.17.6). The Homeric quotation at 1.8.2 (see previous n.) correspondingly presents Agamemnon, at least on Clinias' reading, as exceptionally beautiful.

2.36.4 οὐρανούς: the plur., originally characteristic of Jewish and Christian Greek, finds its way into common parlance in A.'s era (cf. 2.37.2, 4). **καὶ γάρ** 'and after all', i.e. it would have been perfectly possible for Zeus to elevate a female as well, had he valued women equally. **Ἀλκμήνην . . . τροφή:** a brief, learned catalogue of mythological females who suffered terrible fates after mating with gods, and a counterpart to Clinias' list of destructive females at 1.8.4–6. Alcmene, the mother by Zeus of Heracles, faced a grievous exile (πένθος καὶ φυγή, hendiadys) thanks to the persecutions of King Eurystheus; Danae was the mother (by Zeus) of Perseus, who, after the birth, was set adrift with her son in a wooden chest (λάρναξ); Semele, the mother (again by Zeus) of Dionysus, was consumed by fire (i.e. she 'became the nourishment for fire') when her lover revealed himself in all his divinity. The object of ἔχει is both Ἀλκμήνην and Δανάην. **καὶ συνοικῆι καὶ οἰνοχόον ἔχηι:** alliteration and assonance, characteristic of the Gorgianic style (Intro. 4(b)). The subject of both verbs is 'Zeus'. **ἡ . . . πρότερον διάκονος τῆς τιμῆς ἐξέωσται:** Hebe, who in some versions yielded the role of cupbearer to Ganymede (and was subsequently married off to the mortal Heracles). 'Hebe' and 'Ganymede' could function as bywords for male sexual preference (Luc. *Amor.* 14; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 12.65, 69–70). **ἐξέωσται** is perf. pass. of ἐξωθέω. **ἦν γάρ, οἶμαι, γυνή** 'If I am not wrong, the cupbearer in question was a woman'.

2.37.1 καὶ μὴν 'And yet . . .' For adversative καὶ μήν see Denniston 357–8. **ὅσον** 'in as much as'. **ἐγγὺς γὰρ τοῦ θείου τὸ ἄφθαρτον** 'for the indestructible is close to divinity'. In this philosophical context, Cl. reaches for abstract formulations. The word ἄφθαρτος smacks of Peripatetic cosmogony, where it is often paired with ἀγένητος (Arist. *De caelo* 270a, 277b, Alex. Aphr. *De Arist. Met.* 938b etc.). **τὸ . . . κινούμενον ἐν φθορᾶι** 'that which moves in a state of decay'. More Aristotelianism: Aristotle's *Physics* presents the defining characteristics of nature (φύσις), the state according to which living entities grow or decay, as movement and change (3.200b). Decay, indeed, is a type of movement (*Cat.* 15a). The evocation of Aristotle's concept of motion lends little more than rhetorical ballast.

2.37.2 ἠράσθη . . . τὸν Φρύγα: Cl. now turns from metaphysics to countering Menelaus' mythological claims, beginning with the apotheosis of Ganymede. The superior power of women is reflected in grammar: Zeus, an active subject, elevated (ἀνήγαγεν) boys to heaven; but he lost his active status when women's beauty drew him down (κατήγαγεν) from heaven. In each of the three mythological cases, the female subject is not named: in this kind of learned parlour game, allusive reference trumps explicit annotation. The list, however, is conventional: cf. the slightly longer catalogue at Philostr. *Ep.* 35. **διὰ γυναῖκά ποτε . . . διὰ γυναῖκά ποτε:** the anaphora creates the impression of a repeated pattern, hinting at a generalisable rule. The two clauses are elegantly balanced, with homoioteleuton of -ήσατο. **Ζεὺς ἐμυκήσατο:** i.e. became a bull, an allusion to the Europa myth (1.1.2n.). Cl. 'quotes' and reformulates the frame-narrator's comment that Eros smiled at Zeus because δι' αὐτὸν (i.e. Eros) γέγονε βοῦς (1.1.13: see n. for parallels). **σάτυρον ὠρχήσατο** 'danced a satyr's dance'. Zeus raped Antiope, daughter of the Theban king, in the guise of a satyr; this was the subject of Euripides' play of the same name. **καὶ χρυσὸν πεποίηκεν ἑαυτὸν ἄλλῃι γυναικί:** in Danae's case, Zeus took the form of a shower of gold.

2.37.3 οἰνοχοείτω μὲν Γανυμήδης, μετὰ δὲ τῶν θεῶν Ἥρα πινέτω 'let Ganymede pour wine; but let Hera drink with the gods!' A piece of ringing sophistry: the Ganymede story is held to demonstrate the superiority of the female, since Ganymede ended up a servant (i.e. social inferior) to Hera. **ἵνα ἔχηι:** result clause (1.7.4n.). **τὴν ἁρπαγήν· ὄρνις ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατέβη ὠμηστής:** a verbal reminiscence of the abduction (ἁρπαγή) of Calligone, presaged by an eagle that 'flew down and snatched (καταπτὰς ἁρπάζε)' the sacrificial meat (2.12.2). **ἀνάρπαστος** 'snatched up'. The circumlocution is borrowed from Pl. *Phdr.* 229c (the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas; it is implicitly used of Ganymede at Luc. *Icar.* 2). **ὑβρίζεται καὶ ἔοικεν τυραννουμένωι** 'is shamefully mistreated, and seems to be tyrannically abused'.

2.37.4 Σεμέλην . . . εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνήγαγεν . . . πῦρ: a riposte to Menelaus' claim that no women have been transported εἰς οὐρανούς (2.36.4). Cl. alludes to the tradition that Semele was transformed into a constellation (Nonn. *Dion.* 8.396–418), interpreting her burning (2.36.4) as catasterism. Cl. seems to conflate catasterism with apotheosis. **οὕτως ἀνέβη Ἡρακλῆς:** Heracles' mortal body was cremated on Mt. Oeta; he subsequently took his place as a god on Olympus. **πῶς τὸν Περσέα σιωπᾶις;** 'how come you do not mention Perseus?' πῶς = τί (cf. 2.6.2, 2.35.3). Perseus was enclosed in the chest with his mother Danae: the humiliating punishment that Menelaus mentioned was not directed solely at the female. **Ἀλκμήνηι . . . τρεῖς ὅλους ἡλίους:** in one version of the myth, Zeus three times prevented dawn from rising, so as to prolong his night with Alcmene (ps.-Apoll. *Bibl.* 2.4.8).

2.37.5 μεθέντα 'move on from'. **τοῖς ἔργοις:** sexual acts (1.9.4n.). **ἐγὼ μέν:** the new sentence begins with an anacolouthon, leaving the apodosis of the previous sentence's conditional clause unfulfilled. The absence of a main verb in the μέν clause produces further anacolouthon, and the impression – whether spontaneous or crafted on Cl.'s part – of stuttering hesitancy. **πρωτόπειρος . . . εἰς γυναῖκας** 'a beginner when it comes to women' (something of a disingenuous claim, given what follows – as Menelaus will point out at 2.38.1). **ὅσον ὁμιλῆσαι** 'in that I have encountered only'. For the construction (ὅσον + inf. = 'so far as to') cf. 1.1.8 (ὅσον ὑπεράνω μικρὸν τῶν ταρσῶν ὑπερέχειν τὸ κῦμα) and O'Sullivan ὅσος 3(κ). **ταῖς εἰς Ἀφροδίτην πωλουμέναις** 'those who are sold for sex', i.e. by a pimp (μαστροπός). **ἄλλος γὰρ ἂν . . . ἔχοι μεμυημένος** 'Another, someone initiated, would perhaps be able to say rather (καί) more'. On the initiation metaphor see 1.2.2n. **εἰρήσεται δέ μοι** 'but let me say it all the same'. On the dat. of the agent see 2.25.1–2n. **κἂν μετρίως ἔχω πείρας** 'even if my experience is limited'. κἄν would in classical Greek be κἀι (= καὶ εἰ). On ἔχω + advb. + gen. see 1.7.1n.

2.37.6 ὑγρὸν . . . τὸ σῶμα: the woman's body is 'supple', but ὑγρός also retains some of its primary meaning 'liquid' (women's bodies could be imagined as containing more fluid than men's: Hanson 1990: 317–18). **διὰ τοῦτο μὲν . . . ὅλως ἐνηρμοσμένον** 'for this reason (i.e. because of the absorbency of the female body), she clasps the body of her lover in her embraces, entirely enveloped in her flesh'. **ὁ δὲ συγγινόμενος περιβάλλει τὴν ἡδονήν** 'anyone who unites with her embraces bliss', i.e. unadulterated pleasure, joy in its purest form.

2.37.7 ἐγγίζει δὲ τοῖς χείλεσιν . . . τὰ φιλήματα 'she draws her seal-like kisses close to your lips'. In Greek metaphor, a σφραγίς is usually imagined

to cover, close or complete something (LSJ σφραγίζω). In this section alone there are six references to kissing. **φιλεῖ . . . τέχνηι** 'she kisses with art', a contrast with the 'simple' (ἁπλοῦς) boy (2.35.3). Erotic debates of this kind often rest upon moralising distinctions between nature and culture, which can be manipulated in a variety of ways (Intro. 6(a)): here Cl. implicitly combats the negative association of women with unnatural 'artifice' (i.e. adornment: e.g. Luc. *Amor.* 39–41, Philostr. *Ep.* 22, 40) by arguing that τέχνη makes for greater pleasure. **σκευάζει:** another word suggesting artful preparation. **γλυκύτερον:** proleptic use of the predicative adj. (Smyth §1579), i.e. the kiss becomes sweeter as a result of the action described by σκευάζει. **συμβάλλεται:** perhaps a military metaphor ('joins battle'). **βόσκεται:** metaphorical (the woman is compared to a grazing herd animal). **δάκνει τὰ φιλήματα** 'turns her kisses into bites'. Nibbling of the lips (as distinct from 'love bites' or 'hickeys': e.g. Ov. *Am.* 1.8.98, 1.12.34) is occasionally presented as erotic in Greek culture, e.g. Hipponax fr. 84.11 W2 (cf. Catullus 8.18). **ἔχει . . . τινα καὶ μαστὸς ἐπαφώμενος ἰδίαν ἡδονήν** 'the touch of a breast, too, yields a certain distinctive pleasure'. Cf. Theocr. 27.49–52, Philostr. *Ep.* 59.

2.37.8 ἐν . . . τῆι τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀκμῆι 'at Aphrodite's peak', i.e. orgasm (cf. τέρμα, 2.37.9n.). **οἰστρεῖ** 'is driven wild' (intransitive: 1.12.3n., and cf. 1.18.3). **περικέχηνε . . . φιλοῦσα καὶ μαίνεται** 'she kisses frenetically, her mouth gaping wide open', hendiadys. On the 'empiric perf.' see 1.9.3n. **φοιτῶσιν ἀλλήλαις εἰς ὁμιλίαν** 'keep joining with each other'. **βιάζονται κἀκεῖναι φιλεῖν** 'and they too (i.e. in addition to the lips and teeth) are pressed into the service of kissing'. **σὺ δὲ μείζονα ποίει τὴν ἡδονήν** 'your role is to increase her pleasure by . . .'; the pleasure in question appears to be the woman's, though it may be understood as mutual. Transmitted ποιεῖς requires emendation: σὺ δέ + indic. is used elsewhere in A. only for recrimination, whereas the imper. gives the required meaning 'it is your task to ensure that . . .' (2.23.3, 4.15.3, 6.1.1 etc.). **ἀνοίγων τὰ φιλήματα:** i.e. kissing with an open mouth (cf. 2.37.7, δάκνει τὰ φιλήματα), the situation that Cl. contrives at 2.7.5. On the opening and closing theme in *L&C* see Intro. 5(a).

2.37.9 τὸ τέρμα αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης 'Aphrodite's very own finishing-line', i.e. the moment of (female) orgasm. τέρμα has by A.'s day shed its older meaning of 'turning-post' and come to mean 'end' (Miguélez Cavero 2013: 131). Like ἡ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀκμή (2.37.7), the phrase is unparalleled in Greek: A. may have borrowed directly Ovid's metaphor of the 'goal' (*meta*) of love (*Ars am.* 2.727). There is no specific term for female (or indeed male) climax in ancient Greek (Henderson 1991 (1975): 50),

and it was little noted by ancients apart from Ovid (*Ars am.* 2.719–28), though it underlies the myth of Teiresias' change of sex in the ps.-Hesiodic *Melampodia* and is occasionally mentioned by medical writers (Hanson 1990: 314–15). **πέφυκεν ἀσθμαίνειν** 'instinctively pants', i.e. is conditioned by nature to do so. **ὑπὸ καυματώδους ἡδονῆς** 'as a result of the hyperthermic effects of pleasure': καυματώδους sounds a technical note, and presages a pseudo-scientific explanation of the symptoms of orgasm. **τὸ . . . ἄσθμα σὺν πνεύματι ἐρωτικῷι . . . ἀναθορόν:** orgasmic panting is explained in physiological terms as initiated by a 'gasp' that joins with a mysterious πνεῦμα ἐρωτικόν ('erotic breath') that is generated deep within the body and forced upwards. **συντυγχάνει . . . κάτω:** the ascending gasp 'encounters the wandering kiss as it seeks to descend into the depths' of the body. The line between the physiological and the metaphorical is blurred. The description recalls the effects of kissing described at 2.8.2.

2.37.10 ἀναστρέφον . . . τὴν καρδίαν 'the kiss, whirling around with the gasp and mingling with it, follows it and strikes the heart'. The MSS show considerable confusion at the start of the sentence (see app. crit.); Π^8 offers little help. **τοῖς σπλάγχνοις** 'the innards'. **ἠκολούθησεν ἄν . . . τοῖς φιλήμασι** 'it would follow the kisses and drag itself upwards'. τοῖς φιλήμασι is the indirect object of ἠκολούθησεν. The aor. indic. + ἄν, usually used for the apodosis of past-tense unreal conditions ('would have . . .'), is here pres. in meaning. **παίδων . . . ἀπαίδευτα:** a neat play on words. ἀπαίδευτα and ἀμαθεῖς are damning adjs. in the education-obsessed culture of the second-century Greek world. **Ἀφροδίτη . . . ἀργή** 'the sex is crude'. **ἡδονῆς . . . οὐδέν:** the gen. is either partitive ('no pleasure') or of quality ('nothing that generates pleasure').

2.38.1 μὴ πρωτόπειρος ἀλλὰ γέρων εἰς Ἀφροδίτην counters Cl.'s claim at 2.37.5 to be a novice. μή would be οὐ in Attic: in later Greek it can be used to negate indirect statements after verbs of thinking (Smyth §2689c). **τυγχάνειν** 'to be', understanding ὤν (or εἶναι: 2.30.1n.). **γυναικῶν περιεργίας:** περιεργία is 'inquisitiveness' or 'curiosity', whether in a positive or a negative sense (1.2.1n.); here by metonymy it means 'the products of your inquisitiveness', i.e. 'the prurient details'. **ἐν μέρει . . . ἀντάκουσον** 'now it's your turn to listen to me . . .' The phrasing suggests verbal duelling (cf. Eur. *Cyc.* 253, *Her.* 182).

2.38.2 ἐπίπλαστα 'fake', suggesting cosmetics (cf. Alciphr. 2.8.3). **καὶ τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὰ σχήματα:** an assonant phrase (which stands in apposition to πάντα). σχῆμα must here mean 'accoutrement' (as at 2.4.5). **κἂν . . . δόξηι:** the conditional is present in force. **τῶν ἀλειμμάτων ἡ**

πολυπράγμων μηχανή 'it is to make-up that she has devoted her assiduous devising'. τῶν ἀλειμμάτων is predicative, and as usual in such constructions the verb 'to be' is omitted. Greek males commonly associated female cosmetics with deception: cf. esp. Lys. 1.14, Xen. *Oec.* 10.2. **ἔστιν αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος ἢ μύρων** 'her beauty derives either from perfumes . . .', gen. of quality. **κολοιῶι γεγυμνωμένωι τῶν τοῦ μύθου πτερῶν: '**the jackdaw stripped of its feathers' is an Aesopic fable. The bird borrowed and exulted in another's plumage, until it was found out (Aesop 103 H–H). The story is also referred to by A.'s contemporary Lucian (*Pseudol.* 5, *Apol.* 4).

2.38.3 τὸ δὲ κάλλος . . . ἱδρώς: the privileging of male odours over female perfume is borrowed from Xen. *Symp.* 2.3–5. **ἀρδεύεται** 'drip with'. **ὄσφραις** 'odours', only here in pre-Byzantine Greek. I have followed the Byzantine accentuation (the MSS are divided). **ἀλλοτρίαις** 'alien'. **ὀσμαῖς:** it is surprising, but not unachillean, to find two synonyms in the same sentence.

2.38.4 αὐτῶι 'the boy' (Menelaus now shifts to the sing.). The dat. is doubtless dependent on συμπεσεῖν καὶ . . . περιχυθῆναι (not on ἔξεστι, with which supply σοί). **καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀφροδίτηι συμπλοκῆς** 'even before twining limbs in Aphrodite's bout'. Menelaus plays on the ambiguity of συμπλοκή, appropriate to both sex and wrestling (cf. παλαίστραι). **καὶ ἐν παλαίστραι . . . καὶ φανερῶς:** i.e. both in private and in public (whereas physical contact with women has to be sought in secret). **περιχυθῆναι** 'embrace', with the dat. of the direct object (O'Sullivan περιχέω II.3). **οὐ μαλθάσσει τὰς ἐν Ἀφροδίτηι περιπλοκάς** 'there is no softness in his erotic embraces' (with the expression cf. 2.37.7, δάκνει τὰ φιλήματα). **ὑγρότητι σαρκῶν:** i.e. unlike a woman (cf. 2.37.6). The dat. is instrumental, with μαλθάσσει. **ἀντιτυπεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ σώματα:** the metaphor derives from stamping, which depends upon the coincidence of a hard mould and a soft substance; in this case, however, unlike in 'heterosexual' encounters (2.37.6), both bodies are equally hard. **περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀθλεῖ:** i.e. the quest for pleasure is pursued by vigorous competition (a development of the wrestling imagery). The subject is still τὰ σώματα.

2.38.5 τινα μωρὰν ἀπάτην 'an insipid deceit'. Emendation of transmitted εἶναι το τινα is easy (for the position cf. τινα φιλόξενον ποιμένα, 2.2.3). The long-accepted emendation σινάμωρον (usually 'baneful', occasionally 'lascivious') for εἶναι μωράν is inventive but unconvincing: the word, confined to the Ionic dialect, was barely used in imperial times (Galen felt the need to gloss its use in Hippocrates for his readers: *In Hipp. De vict. acut.* 15. 662 Kühn). I have printed the non-Attic accentuation of μωρός (μῶρος in Attic). **ὡς δὲ οἶδε φιλεῖ** 'rather, he kisses in the only way he knows'.

Fountoulakis 2001 sees in Menelaus' praise of boys' kisses allusions to Theoc. 12. **οὐκ ἔστι τέχνης ἀλλὰ τῆς φύσεως:** on the opposition of nature and culture see Intro. 5(b). The gens. are of quality. **αὕτη . . . παιδὸς φιλήματος εἰκών** 'here is an image for a boy's kiss', i.e. an analogy (cf. 2.15.3 for εἰκών in this sense). **ἐπήγνυτο καὶ χεῖλος ἐγίνετο** 'congealed and turned into a lip'. **τοιαῦτα ἂν ἔσχες τὰ φιλήματα** 'that is the sort of kiss you would have'. **φιλῶν . . . φιλεῖν:** picking up once again Cl.'s analogy with Tantalus' thirst (2.35.4–5), and Menelaus' own earlier reframing of that same myth in terms of τὸ ἀκόρεστον (2.36.1). φιλεῖν = 'kiss'. **μέχρις ἂν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐκφύγῃς τὰ φιλήματα** 'until the very pleasure should drive you to flee the kisses'.

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